A True and Full Narrative OF Thoſe two never to be forgotten DELIVERANCES:

One From
The Spaniſh Invaſion in 88.
The other from
The Helliſh Powder Plot:
November 5. 1605.

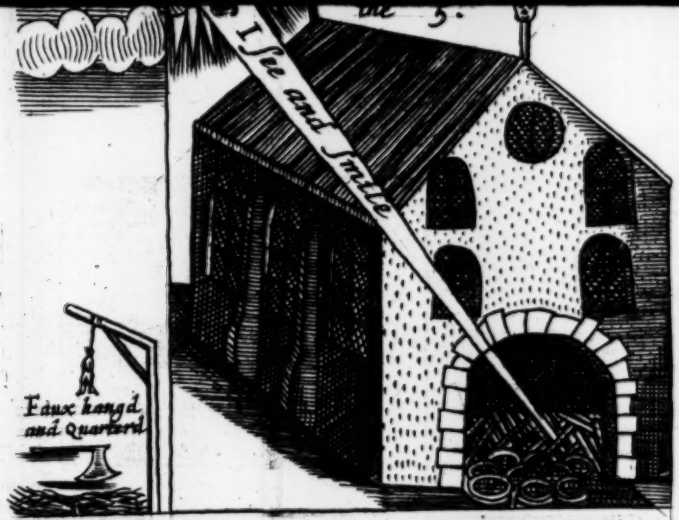
Whereunto is added
The like Narrative of that ſignal Judgment of God upon the Papiſts, by the Fall of the Houſe in *Black-Friers London*, upon their fifth of *November*, 1623.

Collected for the Information and Benefit of each Family, by *Sam. Clark*, formerly Paſtor in *Bennet Fink*.

Behold the wicked travelleth with iniquity, and hath conceived miſchief, and brought forth falſhood.
He made a Pit, and digged it, and is fallen into the ditch which he made.
His miſchief ſhall return upon his own head, and his violent dealing ſhall come down upon his own pate. Pſal. 7. 14,15,16.

London, Printed for *J. Hancock*, and are to be ſold at the *three Bibles*, being the firſt Shop in *Pope's-Head* Alley, next to *Cornhill*. 1671

Ventorum
Audibrum
November
the 5th
I See and


I See and Smile
Faux hangd and Quarterd

LONDON
in Flames
Sept. 2. 1666

A True and Full Narrative

TO THE

HONOURABLE

And

His much Honoured Friends

EDWARD RUSSEL, Esq;

Son to the Right Honourable

FRANCIS *Earl of* BEDFORD.

AND TO

The Lady *PENELOPE*,

His prudent and pious Consort.

SIR, MADAM,

I *Take the boldness to present you with these* Narratives, *not for that they are new, or supposing your selves to be strangers to them: but*

in a Testimony of my Gratitude for these favours I have received from you: The high Heavens may be seen in the lowest valleys: So may a large heart in the least Gift. But truly though the Gift be worthless, yet so is not the matter contained in it, which sets forth such eminent and signal deliverances as no Church or people in these latter Ages of the world have received; And there must be a recognition of Gods mercies, or else there will neither follow estimation, nor retribution: Hence Micah 6. 5. O my people (*saith God many hundreds of years after*) remember now what *Balack* King of *Moab* consulted, and what *Balaam* the Son of *Beor* answered him from *Shittim* unto *Gilgal*, that ye may know the righteousness of the Lord. *If there be not such a recognition of former deliverances, we that should be as Temples of his praise, shall be as graves of his benefits. Our souls indeed are too like filthy Ponds, wherein fish die soon, and*

frogs

frogs live long: Rotten ſtuff is remembred, memorable mercies are forgotten; whereas the ſoul ſhould be as an holy Ark; *the memory as the pot of* Manna, *preſerving holy truths and ſpecial mercies; as* Aarons Rod, *freſh and flouriſhing. Oh! let us imitate that man after Gods own heart! If the Lord will be* Davids *ſhepherd, he will dwel in Gods houſe to all perpetuity,* Pſalm. 23. 1, 6. *If God deal bountifully with him, he will ſit down and bethink himſelf what to render for all his benefits,* Pſalm 116. 7, 12. *A Chriſtian counts all that he can do for God by way of retribution, but a little of that much he could beteem him; and thinks nothing more unbeſeeming him than to bury the mercies of God in oblivion. His two mites of* Thankfulneſs *and* Obedience *he dayly preſents, and then cryes out as that poor* Grecian *did to the Emperour,* If I had a better preſent thou ſhouldeſt be ſure of it.

What then may we judge of those persons in our daies, who labour to extenuate, yea annihilate these deliverances? that would have no publick commemorations of them, that study how to invalidate them, and to blot out the remembrance of them? To render good for evil is Divine: Good for good is Humane: Evil for evil is brutish; But evil for good is Devillish. Yet alas! how ordinary an evil is this among us, to abuse our deliverances to Gods dishonour? But Do ye thus requite the Lord, O fooliſh people, and unwiſe? Is not he thy Father? he hath bought thee, &c. Deut. 32. 6. *Should we not remember that good turns aggravate unkindnesses, and our offences are not a little encreased by our obligations? Ingrateful persons are like the Snake in the Fable, who said to the Country-man when he had shewed it kindness:* Summum præmium pro ſummo beneficio eſt ingratitudo. *Ingratitude*

gratitude is the greateſt reward of the greateſt beneſit.

How many ſuch Snakes have we amongſt us, that return evil for good, and unkindneſs for kindneſs? Is not this to fight againſt God, with his own weapons? as David *did againſt* Goliah: *as* Jehu *did againſt* Jehoram: *and as* Benhadad *did againſt* Ahab, *with that life that he had lately given him? for the preventing whereof (if it may be) are theſe things publiſhed, being almoſt worn out of remembrance more than the very names of them. Beſides, though they may be found in larger volumes, yet are they not ſo fit for every Family: And as I have preſumed (honourable and beloved) to publiſh them udder your protection, ſo I doubt not but they will find the better entertainment for the ſame. My earneſt deſire and prayer for you is that* the God of Peace will fill you with all joy and peace by believing, *multiplying his Bleſſings upon*

you

you and yours: And that you would afford me a room in your Albe *among those that*

Sir, Madam,

Love, honour and serve you.

Sam. Clark.

From my Study in *Thridneedle* Street, *Octob.* 22. 1657.

The

THE SPANISH INVASION

A Commemoration of that wonderful, and almoſt miraculous Deliverance afforded by God to this Nation from the Spaniſh Invaſion, Anno Chriſti, 1588.

THe year one thouſand five hundred eighty eight, was foretold by an Aſtronomer of *Koningſberg*, above one hundred years before, that it ſhould prove a *wonderful year*: and the *German* Chronologers preſaged, that it would be the *Climacterical* year of the world, which was in ſome meaſure accompliſhed in that glorious and never to be forgotten Deliverance vouchſafed by God to us in *England*, and in

in that fatal overthrow of the Spaniſh Navy; A true Narrative whereof followes.

But that we may the better ſee what induced the *Spaniard* to make this hoſtile Invaſion, we muſt be informed: both who were the inciters, and by what arguments, and artifices, they ſtirred him up thereunto.

The Inciters were the Pope, and ſome traiterous *Engliſh* Fugitives who were entertained in *Spain*, and at *Rome*. The deſign was, *The Conqueſt of England*; which had been hindred for the ſpace of ten years by reaſon of the *Spaniſh* Wars in *Portugal*. The Arguments were, that ſeeing God had bleſſed the King of *Spain* with admirable Bleſſings and Succeſſes; had given him in *Portugal*, the *Eaſt Indies*, and very many rich Iſlands belonging to the ſame; that he ſhould therefore perform ſomewhat that might be acceptable to God (the giver of ſo great and good things) and moſt worthy the Power, and Majeſty of the Catholick King: That the Church of God could not be more gloriouſly, nor meritoriouſly propagated, than by the conqueſt of *England*, extirpating Hereſie, and planting the Catholick Roman Religion there. This War (they ſaid)

would

would be moſt juſt and neceſſary; conſidering that the Queen of *England* was excommunicated, and perſiſted contumacious againſt the Church of *Rome*. That ſhe ſupported the King of *Spains* Rebels in the *Netherlands*, annoyed the *Spaniards* with continual depredations; ſurpriſed, and ſacked his Towns in *Spain*, and *America*, and had very lately put the Queen of *Scots* to death, therein violating the Majeſty of all Kings.

Again, that this War would be no leſs profitable than juſt; For hereby he might add to his Empire other flouriſhing Kingdoms, extinguiſh the Rebellion in the *Low-Countries*, hitherto fomented and ſupported from *England*; ſecure his voyages from both the *Indies*, and abate his vaſt expences in convoying his *Indian* Fleets both forward and backward: For proof whereof (they ſuggeſted) that the *Engliſh* Navy was neither for number, nor greatneſs, nor ſtrength comparable to that of *Spain*; eſpecially having the *Portugal* Fleet now annexed unto it. That *England* was not fortified, and it wanted Commanders: Souldiers, a Cavalry, and Ammunition; was bare of Wealth, and Friends. That there were many in all parts of it addicted to the *Romiſh* Religion,

ligion, and would upon the firſt opportunity joyn their forces with his. In brief, that ſo great was the ſtrength of the *Spaniard*, and ſo unmatchable was their valour, that no man durſt oppoſe againſt them; and therefore they might confidently aſſure themſelves of victory. Moreover, that now an opportunity was afforded by God himſelf to the King of *Spain* to effectuate this great deſign, having no cauſe to fear any other enemies, by reaſon of a Truce lately concluded by him with the Great *Turk*, and the *French* (his old enemies) being now embroiled in Civil Wars at home. They perſwaded him likewiſe that *England* was an eaſier conqueſt than the *Netherlands*: For that he had a ſhorter cut to it by Sea, and that an open Sea: neither was it ſo fortified with Cities, Caſtles, *&c.* as the *Netherlands* were: and that *England* being once conquered, the *Netherlands* would ſoon follow of courſe, having loſt their beſt ſupporter.

Theſe, and ſuch like arguments prevailing with the King of *Spain*, in the next place they held a ſerious Conſultation about the manner of Invading *England*. *Don Alvares Baſſano*, Marquis of *Santa Cruce*, who was to command the *Armado*;

do, adviſed that ſome Port-Town in *Holland*, or *Zealand* ſhould ſuddenly be ſurprized by the Prince of *Parma*'s Land Forces (who was then Governor of the *Netherlands* under the King of *Spain*) and by ſome *Spaniſh* Ships ſent to aſſiſt him by Sea, that ſo the great Fleet might have an Harbour from whence to begin their Invaſion: with whom agreed in opinion the Prince of *Parma* himſelf, who was very forward to promote this expedition. But others oppoſed this by reaſon of the difficulty, danger, expence of time, and vaſt charge that it would require. They held that with the ſame charge *England* might eaſier be won, and that the Conqueſt thereof would be aſſured, if a well-appointed Army out of *Spain*, and the *Low-Countries* might be landed at the *Thames* mouth, and *London* (the Metropolis of *England*) ſurpriſed by a ſudden aſſault. And this opinion, as the more probable, prevailed. And then again it was adviſed by ſome, that War ſhould firſt be denounced by an Herald, both to remove ſuſpicion and jealouſie from neighbour Princes, and to drive our Queen to call in forraign Forces to aſſiſt Her: hoping that according to the inſolent manner of mercenaries, they would raiſe mutinies, and ſpoil the Country,

try, which would make the Queens Subjects evil affected towards Her, ſo that all things would grow into confuſion in *England*. But this motion was not hearkened to by men grown fierce, inſolent, and confident of their own ſtrength, only they deſired the bleſſing of the Pope upon their *Armado*, and the prayers of the Catholicks to God and the Saints for good ſucceſs. And to ſtrike the greater terror into the hearts of the *Engliſh*, They ſet forth Books with printed Maps, wherein was expreſſed the greatneſs of their Preparations in each particular, which indeed was ſo great in *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, and *Sicily*, that the *Spaniards* themſelves were amazed at it, and procured the Pope to Chriſten it by the name of the *Invincible Armado*.

Now that the wonderful power and mercy of God to us in this poor Nation, in protecting us againſt the ſame, may the more gloriouſly appear, I ſhall in the next place ſet down what their preparations were for Ships, Mariners, Land-Souldiers, Ammunition, and other proviſions for the carrying on of ſo great an undertaking.

The *Spaniſh* Navy, being the beſt appointed for men, munition, and all manner

ner of proviſion, that ever the Ocean ſaw, had been five years in preparing, conſiſted of one hundred and thirty Ships, whereof theſe were the principal.

The Admiral Gallion of Saint *Martins*, of a thouſand Tun burden, had in her one thouſand ſeventy and ſeven Mariners, three hundred Souldiers, fifty Canon, *&c.*

The Gallion of Saint *Johns*, of one thouſand and ſeventy Tun, had in her one hundred and ſixty Mariners, two hundred and thirty one Souldiers, fifty Canon, *&c.*

The Gallion of Saint *Mark* of ſeven hundred and ninety two Tun, had in it one hundred and ſeventeen Mariners, two hundred and ninety two Souldiers, *&c.*

The Gallion of Saint *Philip*, of eight hundred Tun, had in it one hundred and ſeventeen Mariners, four hundred and fifteen Souldiers, forty Guns, *&c.*

The Gallion of Saint *Lewis*, of eight hundred and thirty Tun, had in it one hundred and ſixteen Mariners, three hundred and ſeventy ſix Souldiers, forty Guns, *&c.*

The Gallion of Saint *Matthew*, of ſeven hundred and fifty Tun, had in it fifty Mariners, one hundred and ſeventy ſeven Souldiers, forty Guns, *&c.*

The Gallion of Saint *James*, of five hundred and twenty Tun, had in it one hundred

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The Gallion of Saint *James*, of five hundred and twenty Tun, had in it one hundred

Mariners, three hundred Souldiers, fifty two Guns, *&c.*

The Gallion of *Florence*, of nine hundred and ſixty one Tun, had in it one hundred Mariners, three hundred Souldiers, fifty two Guns, *&c.*

The Gallion of Saint *Chriſtopher*, of three hundred fifty and two Tun, had in it ninety Mariners, three hundred Souldiers, thirty Guns, *&c.*

The Gallion of Saint *Bernard*, of three hundred and fifty two Tun, had in it one hundred Mariners, two hundred and eighty Souldiers, thirty Guns, *&c.*

A Ship of Saint *Angelo*, of ſeven hundred ſixty and eight Tun, had in it one hundred and fourteen Mariners, three hundred and twenty three Souldiers, thirty Canons, *&c.*

The *Gangrine*, of one thouſand one hundred and ſixty Tun; had in it one hundred and ten Mariners, three hundred Souldiers, thirty ſix Canons, *&c.*

The Ship Saint *James*, of ſix hundred and ſixty Tun, had in her one hundred and two Mariners, two hundred and fifty Souldiers, thirty Guns, *&c.*

The *Manuel*, of five hundred and twenty Tun, had in her fifty four Mariners, one hundred and thirty Souldiers, ſixteen Guns, *&c.*

The

The Saint *Mary*, of ſeven hundred and 7 Tun, had in her fifty Mariners, two hundred and twenty Souldiers, thirty Guns, &c.

But I need not reckon up the reſt. They had in all one hundred and thirty Ships, containing Fifty ſeven thouſand, eight hundred and eight Tun; wherein were Eight hundred and forty five Mariners, Nineteen thouſand two hundred and ninety five Souldiers, and two thouſand and eighty eight Gally-ſlaves. And ſo confident were the *Spaniards* that *England* ſhould pay the ſhot, that they ſpared no coſt for furniſhing it forth with all things neceſſary. For which end they provided of Bullets for great ſhot two hundred and twenty thouſand. Of Powder four thouſand and two hundred Kintals, every Kintal containing a hundred pound weight: of Lead for Bullets a thouſand Kintals: of Match a thouſand and two hundred Kintals: Muſquets ſeven thouſand: of Partiſans and Halberts ten thouſand: with ſtore of Murthering pieces, double Canon, and Field pieces for the Camp: they had alſo ſtore of Furniture for Carriages, Mules and Horſes; ſo that they were ſufficiently provided both for Sea and Land. Bread and Biſket ready baked, and Wine laid aboard for ſix months proviſion. They had moreover ſix thouſand and five hundred

Kintals of Bacon; three thouſand of Cheeſe, beſides other Fleſh, Riſe Beans, Peaſe, Oil, and Venegar, with twelve thouſand Pipes of freſh water. They had alſo ſtore of Torches, Lamps, and Lanthorns, Canvas, Hides, and Lead to ſtop Leaks: Whips and Butcherly Knives to murder and torment the poor *Engliſh*. In a word, the Army was thirty two thouſand ſtrong, and coſt the King of *Spain* thirty two thouſand Ducats every day.

In this Army were five Regiments of old *Spaniſh* Souldiers of the Tertio's of *Naples*, *Sicily*, and the *Tercera's*, commanded by five Maſters *Del-Campo*: The firſt was Don *Diego de Piementel*, a Knight of the Order of Saint *John*, and Brother to the Marqueſs of *Taveras*: The ſecond Colonel was Don *Franciſco de Toledo*, brother to the Earl of *Orgas*: The third Don *Alonzo de Luzon*: The fourth Don *Nicholas de Illa*: The fifth was *Auguſtin Mexia*; each Colonel having in his Regiment thirty two Companies, Beſides the *Caſtilian*, and *Portugal* Bands, each of them having their peculiar Commanders and weapons.

The General of this mighty Army (the Marqueſs of *Santta Cruce* being now dead) was Don *Lodovicus Peres*, the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* of the Order of the *Golden Fleece*

Fleece. The Admiral was Don *John Martinez de Richald*: The Marſhal Don *Franciſco Bovadille*: Others were chief Counſellors for the War, and Don *Martin Alarcon* was Vicar General for the holy unholy Inquiſition, in whoſe train were a hundred Monks and Jeſuites: and Cardinal *Allen* was appointed the Superintendent of Eccleſiaſtical matters throughout *England*, who fearing to be unprovided, tranſlated Pope *Sextus* his Bull into *Engliſh*, that it might be the ſooner publiſhed upon the arrival of the *Spaniſh* Fleet in this our Nation. Of voluntary Adventurers, there were a hundred and twenty four Noble men, and Gentlemen of all the greateſt houſes in *Spain*, hoping to be well paid with the Lands and Riches of *England*.

The Prince of *Parma* alſo in the *Netherlands*, by the King of *Spains* Command; built Ships, and very many flat bottomed Boats, each of them big enough to carry thirty Horſe, with Bridges fitted to them to ſhip and unſhip the Horſes: He hired Mariners from *Eaſt-Germany*, ſet many thouſands on work to dig and deepen Rivers from *Antwerp* to *Gaunt*, and to *Bruges*: lading three hundred ſmall Boats with Munition and Victuals. Two hundred more flat-bottom'd Boats were made, though

not so big as the former, which lay ready in the Haven of *Newport*, besides thirty seven Ships of War at *Dunkirk*: He prepared Piles sharpened at the nether ends, headed with iron, and hooked on the sides to pile up the mouths of Rivers: At *Graveling* he provided twenty thousand empty Casks with cords, and other furniture to make floating Bridges to stop up the Havens, beside an infinite number of fagots: He shipped likewise a great abundance of Saddles, Bridles, with other furniture for Horse, and Horses also for Carriages, with Ordnance and other provisions for War.

Neer unto *Newport* he had lying under the command of *Camillo* thirty Companies of *Italians*, two of *Walloons*, and eight of *Burgignons* every company containing a hundred men: At *Dixmew* he mustered eighty companies of *Netherlanders*, sixty of *Spaniards*, sixty of *High Dutch*, among which were seven hundred fugitive *English* under the command of Sir *William Stanley*, who of all others were held in greatest contempt: neither was *Stanley*, nor the Earl of *Westmoorland*, not others which offered their service and counsel once heard, but for their treachery to their Country, barred from all access, and as most unfortuate con-

conductors, worthily with deteſtation rejected. At *Conick* alſo he quartered other four thouſand, and at *Watene* nine hundred horſe, commanded by the Marqueſs of *Guaſt*. And to this land-ſervice came the Duke of *Paſtrana*, ſuppoſed to be the King of *Spains* baſe ſon: the Marqueſs of *Buorgon*, one of the Duke *Ferdinands* ſons: Don *Veſpaſian Gonſaga* of the houſe of *Mantua*, a great Souldier, who had been Viceroy of *Spain*: Don *John de Medices*, baſtard of *Florence*: Don *Amadens*, baſtard of *Savoy*, with many others of the like quality.

Neither was *Sixtus Quintus*, Pope of *Rome*, any ways backward to ſhew his diligence, and devotion to this intended invaſion; but ſent abroad his *Cruſado* (as he uſed to do againſt the *Turks* and *Infidels*) wherein out of the treaſure of the Church he gave plenary Indulgences, and pardon of all their ſins to every one that contributed his aſſiſtance hereunto: and for the furtherance of this enterpriſe, himſelf undertook to contribute a million of Gold, the one half preſently down, the other half when any notable Haven in our land ſhould be won: yet with this *Proviſo*, that the Crown of *England* ſhould be held as Feudatory to the See of *Rome*; in earneſt whereof he beſtowed upon the King of *Spain* his A-

poſtolical Benediction, and the Title of *Defender of the Faith*: He ſent alſo Cardinal *Allen* into the *Low-Countries*, and renewed the Bulls of *Pius* the fifth and *Gregory* the thirteenth, whereby Queen *Elizabeth* was excommunicated, depoſed from her Throne, and her Subjects abſolved from all allegiance to her.

Thus we ſee what preparations were made both at Sea and Land; at *Rome*, in *Spain*, and the *Netherlands*, for the ſubduing of *England*, extirpating the Goſpel, and ſubjugating us under the yoke of *Spain*: now let us ſee what proviſion and preparations our Queen made to diſpel this black cloud that hung over our head: And truly the firſt thing that ſhe did was moſt Chriſtian; For as when *Jehoſophat* was threatned with the like danger. 2 *Chro.* 20.3. He ſought the Lord and proclaimed a faſt; ſo did She, requiring all her ſubjects to humble themſelves by faſting and prayer, knowing that theſe are the beſt weapons of the Church, that they by them might ſeek unto the Lord, and ſay in the words of *Jehoſophat*, *O Lord God, art not thou God in Heaven? and ruleſt not thou over all the Kingdoms of the Earth? and in thine hand is there not power and might, ſo that none is able to withſtand thee? O our God, wilt thou not*

judge

judge them? For we have no might againſt this great company that cometh againſt us, neither know we what to do, but our eyes are upon thee. But in the ſecond place, knowing that Prayers without endeavours and means are like *Rachel, beautiful but barren*, that She might not be taken unprovided, She prepared with all diligence as ſtrong a Fleet as She could, and all things neceſſary for War; and She that in diſcerning mens parts and abilities was of a moſt ſharp judgment, and ever moſt happy, having the free choice in her ſelf, and not by the commendations of others, aſſigned to every office by name the beſt and fitteſt men.

The charge of her Navy ſhe committed to *Charles Howard* of *Effingham*, Lord Admiral of *England*, of whoſe skill ſhe had had former experience, and whom ſhe knew both by his Moderation and Nobility, to be wary in providence, valiant induſtrious, and of great authority among the Seamen, and well beloved of them: Her Vice-Admiral ſhe made the famous Sir *Francis Drake*, and theſe ſhe ſent to the Weſt parts of *England*; and for the Guard of the narrow Seas, ſhe appointed *Henry* Lord *Seimore* ſecond ſon to the Duke of *Somerſet*, whom ſhe commanded alſo to lie upon the Coaſts of the *Low-Countries*, with forty Ships,

Ships, to watch that the Prince of *Parma* might not come forth with his forces: By Land She commanded the General forces of the Realm to be muſtered, trained, and put in readineſs in their ſpecial ſhires, for the defence of the whole, which accordingly was done, and whereof the Lord *Robert Dudley* Earl of *Leiceſter* was appointed Leeutenant; twenty thouſand whereof were diſpoſed along our South Coaſt for the guard thereof: beſides which, ſhe had two Armies; one of which conſiſting of a thouſand Horſe, and twenty two thouſand Foot, was encamped at *Tilbury* neer the *Thames* mouth, whither the enemy fully intended to come: The other which was led by the Lord *Hunſdon*, conſiſted of thirty four thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe, which were to be the Guard of the Queens perſon: Her ſelf in courage far ſurmounting her ſex, as another *Zenobia* or rather *Deborah*, led forth the Lords Hoſt againſt this great *Siſera*, and her Souldiers valiant and skilful, both for courage and quick diſpatch, might well be compared to thoſe *Gadites* that came to aid *David*, whoſe faces were like the faces of Lions, and were compared to the Roes in the Mountains for ſwiftneſs.

Arthur Lord *Grey*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, Sir

Sir *John Knorris*, Sir *Richard Bingham*, and Sir *Roger Williams*, all gallant men, and brave Souldiers, were appointed to conſult about managing the Land Service: Theſe adviſed that all the commodious landing places for the enemy, as well from *Spain*, as from the *Low-Countries* ſhould be manned and fortified, as *Milford* Haven, *Falmouth*, *Plimmouth*, *Portland*, the *Iſle of Wight*, *Portſmouth*, the open coaſt of *Kent*, commonly called the *Downs*, the *Thames* mouth, *Harwich*, *Yarmouth*, *Hull*, *&c.* and that the Trained Bands throughout the Coaſt Shires, ſhould meet upon a ſignal given to defend the ſaid places, and do their beſt to prohibit the enemies landing. But in caſe he ſhould land, that then they ſhould leave all the Country round about waſt, that ſo they might find nothing for food, but what from their Ships they ſhould carry upon their ſhoulders, and that they ſhould hold the enemies buſied both night and day with continual Alarms, but not to hazard a Battel till more Commanders with their Companies were come together.

Some ſuggeſted alſo to the Queen, that the *Spaniards* abroad were not ſo much to be feared as the Papiſts at home; for that the *Spaniards* would not attempt the Invaſion of *England*, but upon confidence of aid from

from them: She thereupon committed ſome of them to priſon at *Wisbeach* in the Fenns; by her Letters alſo ſhe directed Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland* what he ſhould do.

The King of *Scots* ſhe put in mind to beware of the Papiſts and *Spaniſh* Factions: By her frequent Letters ſhe wrote to the States of the *United Provinces* not to be deficient in aſſiſting her what they could.

But amongſt theſe preparations for War on both ſides, *Philip* King of *Spain*, to caſt a miſt over her Majeſties eyes, and to rock her into a ſleep of ſecurity, importuned by all means the Realms unto peace, imploying the Prince of *Parma* to be his inſtrument therein, who dealt earneſtly by Letters with the help of Sir *James Crofts*, a privy Counſellor, and a man much addicted to peace, as alſo by *Andrew Van Loey*, a *Netherlander*, that a treaty of Peace might be entred upon, affirming that he had Warrant thereunto from the King of *Spain*. Our Queen meaſuring other Princes by her own guileleſs heart, gave ear to this deceitful lullaby, little ſuſpecting that a deadly ſnake could be hid in ſo fair a Garden; yet reſolved to treat of Peace with her Sword in her hand, neither was the Prince of *Parma* againſt her ſo doing.

In

In the month therefore of *Feb.* Commiſſioners were ſent into *Flandeas*, *Henry* Earl of *Darby*, *William Brook*, Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Jamis Crofts*, *Valentine Dale*, and *John Rogers* Doctors of the Law, who arriving there, were received in the Prince of *Parma*'s name with all courteſy; who thereupon ſent away *Dale* preſently to him to know where the place of meeting ſhould be, and to ſee his Commiſſion from the King of *Spain*: the place he appointed to be neer *Oſtend*, the Town it ſelf being then in the *Engliſh* hands; and as for his Commiſſion, he promiſed it ſhould be produced at their meeting: Only he wiſhed them to haſten the matter, leſt any thing ſhould happen in the interim to interrupt the treaty: and one *Richardot*, which ſtood by him, ſaid more openly, *That he knew not what in the mean time might be done againſt England.* Which being reported to the Queen, She ſent *Rogers* to the Prince to know whether there was any deſign for the Invading of *England*, as he, and *Richardot* by their words ſeemed to imply: The Prince anſwered that he had never any thought for the Invading *England*, when he wiſhed the Treaty to be haſtened, and was angry with *Richardot*, who denied that any ſuch words had fallen from him.

Commiſſioners

Commiſſioners for the King of *Spain* were *Maximilian* Earl of *Aremberg*, Governor of *Antwerp*, *Richardot* Preſident of *Artois*, with ſome other Civilians.

Theſe ſtayed at *Bruges*, and for all their pretended haſte, much time was cunningly ſpun out about the place of their meeting, which ſhould have the Precedency, and what hoſtages ſhould be given for ſecurity of the Commiſſioners: yet at length the *Spaniards* yielded to the *Engliſh* Precedency, both in going and ſitting: and the place wars in Tents near unto *Oſtend*.

The demands for the Queen were, that there might be a ſurceaſe of Arms, with a preſent and undelayed Truce, ſhe miſtruſting the *Spaniſh* preparations at Sea: The ſending away of forraign Souldiers out of the *Low-Countries* for *Englands* ſecurity: A reſtitution of ſuch ſums of mony as the Queen had lent to the States, and which the King had promiſed to reſtore: That the *Netherlanders* might enjoy their ancient liberties, and priviledges, nor be governed by a ſtranger, but by a Native Prince: That they might have liberty to ſerve God with Freedom of Conſcience: And laſtly, that the Articles of the Pacification of *Gaunt*, and other like treaties might be obſerved; which things if they were granted, ſhe would

would condeſcend upon reaſonable conditions to deliver up the Towns in the *Netherlands*, which ſhe then had in poſſeſſion, that it might appear that ſhe had not for her own advantage, but for the neceſſary defence of the *Netherlands*, and her ſelf taken up arms.

To theſe the *Spaniards* replyed, that touching their preparations at Sea, they did aſſure them that it nothing concerned *England*. That to ſend away the Souldiers, the King could not reſolve till the *Netherlanders* had ſubmitted themſelves to him. Concerning their priviledges, that it appertained nothing to the Queen, neither ſhould She preſcribe to the King a Law. And ſo far was he from tolerating Religion, that he would not ſo much as hear thereof, otherwiſe then he had allowed to other Towns that had ſubmitted to his obedience. And as for thoſe Towns which had been taken from the King, and the mony expended about them, They ſaid that the *Spaniard* might demand as many Myriades of Ducats to be repayed to him by the Queen, as he had expended upon the *Low-Country* War, from the time that She ſupported the revolting *Netherlanders*, and took them into her Protection.

About this time went *Dale* by the Queens command to the Prince of *Parma*, and

and mildly expoſtulated with him about a Book lately publiſhed by Cardinal *Allen*; That *Engliſh Renegado*, wherein he exhorted the Nobility and People of *England* and *Ireland* to joyn with the *Spaniſh* Forces, under the conduct of the Prince of *Parma*, to execute the Popes ſentence already publiſhed by his *Bull* againſt Queen *Elizabeth*; wherein ſhe was declared an Heretick, Illegitimate, cruel, for putting to death the Queen of *Scots*, *&c.* And her ſubjects abſolved from their Oath of Allegiance, and commanded to aid the Prince of *Parma* againſt Her. (And indeed there was a great number of theſe *Bulls* and Books printed at *Antwerp*, from thence to be diſperſed all over *England*.)

The Prince denied that he had ever ſeen any ſuch Book, or *Bull*, neither would he undertake any thing in the Popes name; howbeit that he muſt obey his Prince. But for the Queen of *England*, he proteſted that he did ſo honour her for her Vertues, that next to the King his Maſter, he eſteemed Her above all others, and would be ready to do Her ſervice. For the manifeſtation whereof he ſaid that he had perſwaded the King to condeſcend to this treaty of peace, which would be more advantagious for the *Engliſh* than for the *Spaniard*;

niards: For (ſaid he) *if the* Spaniards *be overcome they will ſoon recover their loſs; but if You be overcome, your Kingdom, and all is loſt:* To which *Dale* made this reply: *Our Queen is provided with ſtrength ſufficient to defend her Kingdom, and you your ſelf in your wiſdom may forefee that a Kingdom cannot be loſt with the fortune of one Battel, ſeeing the King of* Spain *after ſo long Wars, is not able to recover his ancient inheritance in the* Netherlands. Be it ſo (ſaid the Prince) Theſe things are in the hands of the Almighty.

After this the Commiſſioners contended with mutual debates, and replies, ſtill twiſting and untwiſting the ſame thread. For when the *Engliſh* preſſed that a Toleration of Religion might be granted for the *United Provinces*, at leaſt for two years; It was anſwered, That as the *Spaniard* demanded not this for the *Engliſh* Catholicks; ſo they hoped the Queen in her wiſdom would require nothing of him which might be againſt the Honour, Oath, and Conſcience of the *Spaniard*. When they demanded the mony due from the States of *Brabant* to our Queen; They anſwered, that it was lent without the Kings Knowledge or Warrant; and that the accounts being caſt up, how much the ſaid mony was, and how

much the King had diſburſed about the War, it would ſoon be known to whom the moſt ought to be repayed. With ſuch anſwers as theſe they dallied with the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, till the *Spaniſh* Fleet was come within the view of *England*, and the thundring of the Ordnance was heard from the Sea, which put the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners into ſome ſuſpicion and fear, having no hoſtages for their ſafe return. But they received a ſafe conduct from the Prince of *Parma* (who had in the mean time drawn down all his Forces to the Sea coaſt) and ſo were conducted to the borders near *Calice*. Thus came this Treaty to nothing, undertaken by our Queen (as was conceived) to divert the coming of the *Spaniſh* Fleet: and continued by the *Spaniard* to ſurprize *England* unprovided, and at unawares So both ſides put the Foxes ſkin upon the Lions head.

And now we are come to ſpeak of this *Invincible Armado*, which was the preparation of five whole years at leaſt. It bare it ſelf alſo upon Divine aſſiſtance, having received a ſpecial Bleſſing from the Pope, and was aſſigned as an *Apoſtolical Miſſion* for the reducement of this Kingdom to the obedience of the See of *Rome*: and in further token of this holy Warfare, there were amongſt

amongſt the reſt of the Ships, *twelve*, called by the names of the *twelve Apoſtles*. The Gallions and Galliaſſes were of ſuch a vaſt ſize, that they were like floating Towers and Caſtles, ſo that the ſwelling waves of the Sea could hardly be ſeen; and the Flags, Streamers, and Enſigns ſo ſpread in the wind, that they ſeemed even to darken the Sun, and to threaten deſtruction which way ſoever they turned.

On the nine and twentieth day of *May* this Fleet ſet ſail out of the *River Tajo*, bending its courſe towards the *Groin* in *Gallizia*, the place appointed for the general Rendezvous, as being the neareſt Haven unto *England*: But whileſt they hoyſed and ſpread abroad their proud ſailes to the wind; God, who is an enemy to ſuch *Nimrod-like* undertakings, and hating ſuch hoſtile actions, ſuddenly manifeſted his diſpleaſure, and poured out revenge by a ſudden and hideous tempeſt, which drave the Duke of *Medina*, the General, back again into the *Groin*; eight other of the Ships being diſperſed on the Seas, had their Maſts broken, and blown over board; beſides three other *Portugal* Gallies which were driven upon the Coaſts of *Bayon* in *France*, where, by the valour of one *David Gwin*, an *Engliſh* ſlave, and the help of other

ſlaves, *French*, and *Turks*, they were delivered into the hands of the *French*, and they freed themſelves by the ſlaughter of the *Spaniards*, amongſt whom *Don Diego de Mondrana* was one.

About the ſame time the *Engliſh* Admiral, and Vice-Admiral, who had in all about one hundred ſhips, whereof fifteen were Victuallers, and nine Voluntaries of *Devonſhire* Gentlemen, hearing for certainty that the *Spaniſh* Fleet was ready to hoiſe up their ſails, reſolved to put forth from *Plymouth*, and to meet, and fight them by the way; but were ſo met with by the ſame wind, that they could not get paſt the *Syllies*, and thence alſo were forced by the Tempeſt to return into their former harbour, to refreſh their Ships, and Companies; only ſome of their Scouts at Sea deſcried ſome of the *Spaniſh* Ships, which likewiſe had been diſperſed with the ſtorm: but before the *Engliſh* could come near them, the wind vereing about, carryed them back to the *Groine*, where there reſt of their Fleet lay in harbour.

Intelligence being brought that the *Spaniards* were in want, their great Ships diſperſed, and the reſt ſorely ſhaken with the ſtorm, and their men dying by multitudes of the Peſtilence; the Lord Admiral *Howard*

ard intended with the firſt Northerly wind to take advantage, which coming about upon the eighth of *July*, he lanched forth, and bore his ſails almoſt within the ſight of *Spain*, purpoſing to ſurpriſe their weather-beaten Ships, and to fight them upon their own Coaſt. But then the wind ſuddenly changing into the South, and he wiſely foreſeeing that the enemy might paſs by without his diſcovery, that the Seas might be ſtormy, or his Fleet wind-bound, and that whilſt he thus lay abroad, his ſervice might be more neceſſary at home, and that his work was to defend the Coaſts of *England*, he therefore preſently returned and anchored his Fleet in the Haven at *Plimouth*, ſuffering his men to refreſh themſelves upon the Land.

At the ſame time there came more confident advertiſement (though falſe) not only to the Lord Admiral, but to the Court, that the *Spaniſh* Fleet could not poſſibly come forth again that year, upon which reports (a dangerous matter in State affairs) ſo confident was our Queen, that ſhe ſent for four of her biggeſt royal Ships to be brought back to *Chattam*: But the Lord Admiral ſuſpecting the worſt, by a mild and moderate anſwer retarded it, deſiring that nothing might be lightly believed in ſo

weighty a matter, and that he might retain them though at his own charge. Wherein indeed a ſpecial providence of God did appear, for juſt at that time news was brought to the Lord Admiral by one Captain *Thomas Flemming*, that the *Spaniſh* Fleet was entred into the *Britiſh* Seas, commonly called the *Channel*, and was ſeen near unto the *Lizard point*, which came thus to paſs.

The *Spaniſh* ſhips being new rigged, and their wants ſupplyed, their King ſtill hot on his former reſolutions, inſtantly urged and haſtened his Commanders to put forth again to Sea, which accordingly they did upon the eleventh of *July* with the ſame South wind which (as was ſaid before) brought back our Navy into *Plimouth*; and ſo having a more favourable Gale, with brave ſhews, and full Sails, they entred our Channel, where caſting Anchor, they diſpatched certain ſmal Pinnaces to the Prince of *Parma*, to ſignifie their arrival and readineſs, and to command him in the name of their King to forward his charge for that ſervice.

July the twentieth about noon, this terrible Fleet was deſcried by the *Engliſh*, coming forward amain with a South-weſt wind. It was a kind of ſurpriſe: For that (as was ſaid) many of our men were gone

to

to land, and our ſhips ready to depart: Nevertheleſs our undaunted Admiral towed forth ſuch ſhips as he could get in readineſs into the deep Sea, not without great difficulty, certainly with ſingular diligence, and admirable alacrity of our Mariners, cheered up with the Admirals own preſence and aſſiſtance among them at their halſer-work, the wind blowing ſtrongly into the Haven.

When they were forth they ſaw the *Spaniſh* ſhips with lofty Towers like Caſtles, in front like an half-moon, the horns whereof ſtretched forth in breadth about ſeven miles, ſayling (as it were) with labour to the winds, the Ocean groaning under them, ſo that though with full ſails, yet they came but ſlowly forward. They ſeemed as it were to make for *Plymouth*; but whether their Commiſſion was otherwiſe, or becauſe contrary to their expectation, they ſaw the *Engliſh* ſhips out of the Harbour, they ſteered by towards *Calice*, hoping to meet with the Prince of *Parma*: The *Engliſh* willingly ſuffered them to paſs by, that they might the more commodiouſly chaſe them in the Reer with a fore-right wind.

July the twenty firſt, the Lord Admiral of *England* ſent before him a Pinnace called the *Defiance*, to denounce war by diſcharging

ging her Ordnance, himſelf following in the *Ark-Royal*, ſet upon the Admiral (as he thought) of the *Spaniards* but it proved to be *Alonzo de Leva*'s ſhip, where fire, ſmoke, and loud thundring Cannons began the parley; and rending Bullets moſt freely enterchanged betwixt them, were fiery meſſengers of each others minds. Soon after came up *Drake*, *Hawkins* and *Forbuſher*, playing with their Ordnance upon the hindmoſt Squadron of the Enemies, which was commanded by *Rechalde*, who laboured all he could to ſtay his Men from flying for ſhelter to the Fleet, till his own ſhip being much battered with ſhot, and now grown unſerviceable, was with much difficulty drawn into the main Fleet. At which time the Duke of *Medina* gathered together his whole Fleet, ſcattered here and there by the *Engliſh*, and hoiſing more ſail, kept on his intended courſe toward *Callice*; neither indeed could he do otherwiſe, the wind favouring the *Engliſh*, and himſelf finding the inconvenience of their great and high built ſhips, powerful to defend, but not to offend; to ſtand, but not to move; whereas on the contrary their enemies were nimble, and ready on all ſides to annoy them, and as apt to eſcape harms themſelves, being low built and ſo eaſily ſhot over. Hereupon

upon he cauſed them to gather themſelves up cloſe in the form of an half-moon, and to ſlacken their ſails that their whole Fleet might keep together. But our *Engliſh* Admiral having maintained an hot fight for the ſpace of two hours, thought not good to continue it any longer, thirty of his ſhips ſcarce coming to the work, the reſt being as yet ſcarce gotten out of the Harbour.

In this firſt days fight the Saint *Katherine*, a *Spaniſh* Ship, having been ſorely battered and much torn, was taken into the middeſt of their Fleet to be repaired: And an huge Ship of *Biſcaie* of Don *Oquendoes*, in which was a great part of the Kings treaſure, began to be all in a Flame by force of Gunpowder, which was fired on purpoſe by a *Flemiſh* Gunner, for being miſuſed by them: But the fire was ſoon quenched by the aſſiſtance of ſome other ſhips ſent in to her help. All this while the *Spaniards* for want of courage (which they called *Commiſſion*) did what they could to decline the fight, caſting themſelves continually into Roundels (their ſtrongeſt ſhips walling in the reſt) in which poſture they made a flying march towards *Callis*: yet in the former medly a great Gallion, wherein was Don *Pedro de Valdez*, *Vaſques de Silva*, *Alenzo de Saias*, with other Noble men, being

being ſore battered with the *Engliſh* ſhot, in avoyding whereof ſhe fell foul upon another ſhip, and ere ſhe could be cleared had her fore-maſt broken off, which ſo hindred her ſailing, that ſhe was unable to keep way with the reſt of the Fleet, nor were their friends of courage to ſuccour theſe diſtreſſed Lords, but left both ſhip and them in this ſudden and unexpected danger. But the night coming on, our Lord Admiral ſuppoſing that they had left neither men nor Mariners aboard within her, and fearing to loſe ſight of the *Spaniards*, paſt by her, and followed the Lanthorn which he ſuppoſed to be carried by Sir *Francis Drake*, as it was appointed, but that brave Knight was eagerly purſuing five great Hulks which he took to be of the *Spaniards*, but when he came up, and haled them, they proved *Eaſterlings* and friends, and ſo were diſmiſſed: yet by this miſtake of his, the greateſt part of our Fleet, wanting the direction of his light, was forced to lye ſtill: ſo that he and the reſt of the Fleet till towards night, the next day, could not recover ſight of the Lord Admiral, who all the night before with two other ſhips, the *Bear* and the *Mary-Roſe* followed the *Spaniſh* Lanthorn.

July the twenty ſecond, Sir *Francis Drake*

Drake eſpied the aforementioned lagging Gallion, whereupon he ſent forth a Pinnace to command them to yield, otherwiſe his bullets without any delay ſhould force them to it: *Valdes*, to ſeem valorous, anſwered, that they were four hundred and fifty ſtrong; that himſelf was Don *Pedro*, and ſtood on his honour, and thereupon propounded certain conditions: But the Knight returned this reply, that he had no leiſure to parley, if he would immediately yield, ſo; otherwiſe he ſhould ſoon prove that *Drake* was no daſtard. *Pedro* hearing that it was the fiery *Drake* (whoſe name was very terrible to the *Spaniards*) that had him in chaſe, preſently yielded, and with forty of his companions, came on board Sir *Francis* his Ship, where firſt giving him the *Conge*, he proteſted that he and all his were reſolved to have dyed fighting, had they not fallen into his hands, whoſe valour and felicity was ſo great, that *Mars* and *Neptune* ſeemed to wait on him in all his attempts, and whoſe noble and generous mind towards the vanquiſhed, had often been experienced even of his greateſt foes. Sir *Francis* to requite his *Spaniſh* Complements with *Engliſh* Courteſie, placed him at his own table, and lodged him in his own Cabin: the reſidue of that company

pany he ſent to *Plimouth*, where they remained priſoners for the ſpace of eighteen months, till by payment of their ranſoms they obtained their liberty: But *Drakes* Souldiers had well paid themſelves by the plunder of the ſhip, wherein they found 55000 Ducats of Gold, which they merrily ſhared amongſt them. The ſame day *Michael de Oquendo*, Admiral of the Squadron *Guypuſco*, and Vice-Admiral of the whole Fleet, ſuffered no leſs a diſaſter; whoſe ſhip being one of the greateſt Gallions, fell on fire, and all the upper part of the ſhip being burnt, moſt alſo of the perſons therein were conſumed: howbeit the Gunpowder in the hold not taking fire, the ſhip fell into the hands of the *Engliſh*, which, together with the ſcorched *Spaniards* therein, was brought into *Plimouth*, a joyful ſpectacle to the beholders. All this day, the Duke of *Medina* laboured ſecurely to ſet his Fleet in order; To *Alphonſo de Leva* he gave in charge to joyne the firſt and laſt ſquadron together; To every ſhip he aſſigned his quarter to ride in according to the form preſcribed in *Spain*; commanding them upon pain of death not to deſert their ſtations. *Glitch*, an Enſign-bearer, he ſent to the Prince of *Parma* to acquaint him with his condition.

July

July the twenty third, early in the morning the *Spaniards* taking the benefit of a Northerly wind, when they approached right againſt *Portland*, turned about againſt the *Engliſh*; but the *Engliſh*, nimble, and foreſeeing all advantages, ſoon turned aſide to the Weſtward, each ſtriving to get the wind of the other, which at laſt the *Engliſh* got, and ſo they prepared themſelves on each ſide to fight; and the *Engliſh* continued all day from morning till night to batter thoſe wooden Caſtles with great and ſmall ſhot: The fight was very confuſed and variable, whilſt on the one ſide the *Engliſh* bravely reſcued the *London* ſhips that were hemmed in by the *Spaniards*, and on the other ſide the *Spaniards* as ſtoutly delivered *Rechalde* being in danger: Never was there heard greater thundring of Ordnance on both ſides, the chiefeſt fight being performed on this day; yet notwithſtanding the ſhot from the *Spaniſh* ſhips for the moſt part flew over the *Engliſh* without hurting them, only *Cock* an *Engliſhman* dyed with honour in the midſt of his enemies in a little ſhip of his. The *Engliſh* ſhips being far the leſſer, charged that *Sea-Gyant* with marvellous agility, and having given them their broad ſides flew off again preſently, and then coming up, levelled their ſhot directly

rectly without miſſing thoſe heavy an unweildy ſhips of the *Spaniards*. But the Lord Admiral would not hazzard a fight by grappling with them, as ſome unadviſed perſons would have perſwaded him: For he conſidered that the enemy had a ſtrong Army in the Fleet, whereas he had none; that their ſhips were more in number, of bigger burden, ſtronger, and huger built, ſo that they could not be boarded but with extreme diſadvantage: He foreſaw alſo that the overthrow would turn to a greater dammage than the victory would avail him: For being vanquiſhed he ſhould have brought *England* into extreme hazzard, and being conquerour he ſhould only have gained a little glory to himſelf for overthrowing the Fleet, and beating the enemy. On this day the foreſt fight was performed, wherein, beſides other remarkable harms which the enemy ſuſtained, a great *Venetian* ſhip with ſome other ſmaller were ſurprized, and taken by the *Engliſh*, and the *Spaniards* were forced for their further ſafety to gather themſelves cloſe into a Roundel, their beſt and greateſt ſhips ſtanding without, that they might ſecure thoſe that were battered and leſs.

July the twenty fourth, the fight was only between the four great Galliaſſes, and

and ſome of the *Engliſh* ſhips, the *Spaniards* having great advantage, theirs being rowed with oars, and ours (by reaſon of the calm) having no uſe of their ſails, notwithſtanding which they ſorely galled the enemy with their great and chain ſhot; wherewith they cut in ſunder their tacklings, cables, and cordage to their no little prejudice. But wanting powder which they had ſpent ſo freely, and other proviſion to maintain the fight, the Lord Admiral ſent ſome of his ſmaller ſhips to the next Ports of *England* to fetch ſupply; which ſtirred up jealouſies in the heads of many, that we ſhould thus want upon our own Coaſts. In which *Interim* a Council was called, wherein it was reſolved that the *Engliſh* Fleet ſhould be divided into four ſquadrons, and thoſe committed to four brave Captains, and skilful Seamen, whereof the Lord Admiral in the *Ark-Royal* was chief: Sir *Francis Drake* in the *Revenge* led the ſecond: Captain *Hawkins* the third: and Captain *Forbuſher* the fourth. Other moſt valiant Captains there were in others of Her Majeſties Ships, as the Lord *Thomas Howard* in the *Lion*, the Lord *Sheffield* in the *Bear*, Sir *Robert Southwel* in the *Elizabeth*, Captain *Baker* in the *Victory*, and Captain *George Fenner* in the *Gallion-Leiceſter*:

ceſter: It was alſo further appoined that out of every ſquadron certain ſmall veſſels ſhould give you a charge from diverſe parts in the dead time of the night, but the calm continuing, this deſigne could not be effected.

July the twenty fifth, being Saint *James* day, the *Spaniards* were arrived againſt the Iſle of *Wight*, where was a moſt terrible encounter, each ſhooting off their whole broad ſides, and not above ſixſcore yards the one from the other: There the Saint *Anne*, a Gallion of *Portugal*, which could not hold courſe with the reſt, was ſet upon by certain ſmall *Engliſh* Veſſels, to whoſe reſcue came *Leva* and *Don Diego Telles Enriquez* with three Galliaſſes: which the Lord Admiral himſelf and the Lord *Thomas Howard* in the *Golden Lion*, towing their ſhips with their boats (ſo great was the calm) charged in ſuch ſort with their roaring Canons, that they had much ado, and that not without loſs, to ſave the Gallion, from which time forward none of the Galliaſſes would undertake the fight. The *Spaniards* reported that the *Engliſh* the ſame day beat the *Spaniſh* Admiral in the utter ſquadron, rending her ſore with their Great Ordnance, and having ſlain many of her men, ſhot down her main Maſt, and would

would have much endanger'd her, but that *Mexia* and *Rechalde* came in good time to her reſcue. That the *Spaniſh* Admiral, aſſiſted by *Rechalde* and others, ſet upon the *Engliſh* Admiral, which happily eſcaped by the ſudden turning of the wind. That thereupon the *Spaniards* gave over the purſuit, and holding on their Courſe, diſpatched again a Meſſenger to the Prince of *Parma*, to joyn his Fleet with all ſpeed to the Kings *Armado*, and withal to ſend them a ſupply of great ſhot. But theſe things were unknown to the *Engliſh*, who wrote that from one of the *Spaniſh* ſhips they had ſhot down their Lanthorn, and from another the Beak-head, and that they had done much hurt to the third; that the *Non-parrella* and the *Mary Roſe*, had fought a while with the *Spaniards*; and that other ſhips had reſcued the *Tryumph*, which was in danger: The truth is, they had ſo ſorely battered thoſe huge wooden Caſtles, that once more they forced them for their further ſafety to gather themſelves into a Roundel.

July the twenty ſixth, the Lord Admiral, to encourage and reward the Noble Attempts of his gallant Captains, beſtowed the Order of Knighthood upon the Lords *Howard* and *Sheffield*, *Roger Townſend*, *John Hawkings*, *Martin Forbuſher*, and

others: And yet the vain-glorious and boaſting *Spaniards* cauſed a report to be ſpread in *France*, that *England* was wholly conquered by them. It was reſolved by our men that from thenceforth they ſhould aſſail the enemy no more till they came to the *Britiſh Frith*, or ſtrait of *Callis*, where the Lord *Henry Seimore* and Sir *William Winter*, with the ſhips which they had for the guard of the narrow Seas, waited their coming; and ſo with a fair gale from the South Weſt and by South, the *Spaniſh* Fleet ſailed forward, the *Engliſh* Fleet following it cloſe at the heels. And ſo far was it from terrifying our *Engliſh* Coaſts with the name of *Invincible*, or with its huge and terrible ſpectacle, that our brave *Engliſh* youth with an incredible alacrity, leaving parents, wives, children, kinſfolk, and friends out of their entire love to their native country, hired ſhips from all parts at their own proper charges, and joyned with the Fleet in great numbers, amongſt whom were the Earls of *Oxford*, *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*: *Thomas* and *Robert Cecil*: *Henry Brook*: *Charles Blunt*: *Walter Raleigh*: *William Hatton*: *Robert Carey*: *Ambroſe Willoughby*: *Thomas Gerard*: *Arthur Gorges*, and many others of great note.

July

July the twenty ſeventh, the *Spaniſh* Fleet making forward, towards evening, came over againſt *Dover*, and anchored before *Calis*, intending for *Dunkerk* there to joyn with the Prince of *Parma*'s forces, well perceiving that without their aſſiſtance they could do nothing: They were alſo warned by the Pilots, that if they proceeded any farther it was to be feared leſt they ſhould be driven by the force of the tide into the Northern Ocean. The *Engliſh* Fleet following up hard upon them, caſt Anchor ſo neer that they lay within Culvering ſhot; at which time the Lord *Henry Seimore*, and *Winter* joyned their ſhips to them, ſo that now the *Engliſh* Fleet conſiſted of one hundred and forty ſail, all able ſhips to fight, ſail, and turn about which way ſoever they pleaſed. Yet were they not above fifteen that ſuſtained the greateſt burden of the fight. From hence once more the Duke of *Medina* ſent to the Prince of *Parma* to haſten forth his long expected, and much deſired forces: with which meſſengers many of the *Spaniſh* Noble men went to land, having had enough of the Sea; amongſt whom was the Prince of *Aſcoli*, the Kings baſe ſon, who returned to his ſhip no more; and indeed well it was for him, for that his Gallion was afterwards

terwards caſt away upon the *Iriſh* Coaſt, and never returned to ſalute *Spain*. Theſe meſſengers earneſtly prayed the Prince of *Parma* to put forth to Sea with his Army, which the *Spaniſh* Fleet ſhould protect, as it were under her wings, till it was landed in *England*. And indeed the Prince of *Parma*, hearing the beſt, and not the worſt of this voyage, made all things ready that lay in his charge, whoſe hopes were ſo fixed upon *Englands* Conqueſt, and the glittering Diadem upon Queen *Elizabeths* head did ſo dazel his ambitious eyes, being aſſured by Cardinal *Allen* that he was the man deſigned to be crowned therewith, that neglecting the Coronet of the *Low-Country* Government, he transferred the charge thereof upon Count *Mansfield* the Elder, and having made his vows to the Lady of *Hall* in *Heinault*, he was already in conceit no leſs than a King. But the date of his reign was ſoon expired, and his ſwelling tide fallen into a low ſhallow ebb: For the day following in his march to *Dunkirk*, he heard the thundring Ordnance ringing the paſſing peal of his hopes and title, and the ſame evening had news of the hard ſucceſs of the *Spaniards*, the hoped advancers of his dreamed felicity; and indeed do what he could, he could not be ready at the

Spaniards

Spaniards call: His flat-bottomed boats for the ſhallow Channels leaked; his proviſion of victuals proved unready, and his mariners (having hitherto been detained againſt their wills) had withdarwn themſelves: there lay alſo watching before the Havens of *Dunkirk* and *Newport*, whence he was to put forth to Sea, the men of War of the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, ſo well provided with great Ordnance and Muſketiers, that he could not put from the ſhore unleſs he would wilfully caſt himſelf and his men upon eminent perils and dangers of deſtruction: and yet he being a skilful and experienced Commander, omitted no means, being inflamed with a deſire to conquer *England*.

But Queen *Elizabeths* foreſight prevented both his diligence and the credulous hope of the *Spaniards*. For by Her command the next day after the *Spaniards* had caſt Anchor, the Lord Admiral made ready eight of his worſt ſhips, filled with wild-fire, pitch, roſin, brimſtone, and other combuſtible matter: their Ordnance were charged with bullets, ſtones, chains, and ſuch like things, fit inſtruments of death; and all the men being taken out, upon the Sabbath day, *July* the twenty eighth, at two of the clock after midnight, were they

let drive with wind and tide, under the guidance of *Young* and *Prowſe*, amongſt the *Spaniſh* Fleet. And ſo the Pilots returning, and their trains taking fire, ſuch a ſudden thunderclap was given by them, that the affrighted *Spaniards*, it being the dead time of the night, were amazed, and ſtricken with an horrible fear, leſt all their ſhips ſhould have been fired by them. And to avoid this preſent miſchief, being in great perplexity, they had no other remedy to avoid theſe deadly engines, and murthering inventions, then by cutting their cables in ſunder, the time being too ſhort to weigh up their Anchors, and ſo hoiſing up their ſails to drive at random into the Seas: in which haſt and confuſion the greateſt of their Galliaſſes fell foul upon another ſhip, and loſt her rudder: and ſo floted up and down, and the next day fearfully making towards *Callis*, ran aground upon the ſands, where ſhe was ſet upon by the *Engliſh*. This Galliaſs was of *Naples*: Her General was *Hugh de Moncado*, who fought the more valiantly, becauſe he expected preſent help from the Prince of *Parma*: But Sir *Amias Preſton* gave ſuch a fierce aſſault upon her, that *Moncado* was ſhot dead with a bullet, and the Galliaſs boarded, wherein many of the *Spaniards* were

were ſlain, and a great many others leaping into the Sea were drowned, only Don *Antonio de Matiques*, a principal Officer, had the good hap to eſcape, and was the firſt man that carried the unwelcome news into *Spain*, that their *Invincible Navy* proved vincible. This huge bottom manned with four hundred Souldiers, and three hundred ſlaves, that had in her fifty thouſand Ducats of the *Spaniſh* Kings treaſure, fell into the *Engliſh* mens hands; a reward well befitting their valour, who ſharing it merrily amongſt them, and freeing the miſerable ſlaves from their fetters, would have fired the empty veſſel: but Monſieur *Gourden*, Governour of *Calais*, fearing that the fire might endanger the Town, would not permit them to do it, bending his Ordnance againſt thoſe which attempted it.

Had not this politick Stratagem of the fire-ſhips been found out, it would have been very difficult for the *Engliſh* to have diſlodged them; for thoſe huge ſhips had their bulks ſo ſtrengthened with thick planks, and maſſie beams, that our bullets might ſtrike, and ſtick, and yet never paſs through them: So that the greateſt hurt which our *Engliſh* Canon did, was only by rending their Maſts and tacklings.

The *Spaniards* report that the Duke of *Medina*, when theſe burning ſhips approached, commanded the whole Fleet to weigh Anchor to avoid them, yet ſo, as having ſhunned the danger, preſently every ſhip to return to her former ſtation, which accordingly he did himſelf, giving a ſignal to the reſt to do the like, by diſcharging one of his great Guns; but in this general conſternation the warning was heard but of a few, the reſt being ſcattered all about which for fear were driven ſome into the wide Ocean, and other upon the ſhallows of *Flanders*.

July the twenty ninth, after this miſerable diſaſter, the *Spaniards* ranging themſelves into the beſt order they could, approaching over againſt *Graveling*, where once again the *Engliſh* getting the wind of them, deprived them of the conveniency of *Callis* road, and kept them from ſupply out of *Dunkirk*, from whence reſted their full hope of ſupport. In the mean while *Drake* and *Fenner* played inceſſantly with their great Ordnance upon the *Spaniſh* Fleet, and with them preſently joyned *Fenton*, *Southwel*, *Beeſton*, *Croſs*, *Riman*, and laſtly the Lord Admiral himſelf, with the Lords, *Thomas Howard*, and *Sheffield*: On the other hand, the Duke

of

of *Medina*, *Leva*, *Oquenda*, *Richalde*, and others of them, with much ado got clear off the ſhallows, and ſuſtained the charge as well as they could, yet were moſt of their ſhips pitifully torn and ſhot through, the fight continuing from morning till night, which indeed proved very diſmal to the *Spaniards*; for therein a great Gallion of *biſcay* periſhed, the Captains whereof to avoid ignominy: or to be reputed valorous, deſparately ſlew each other. In which diſtreſs alſo two other great ſhips preſently ſunk. The Gallion Saint *Matthew* under the command of Don *Diego Piementelli*, coming to reſcue Don *Franciſco de Toledo* who was in the Saint *Philip*, was, together with the other, miſerably torn with ſhot, their tacklings ſpent, and their bulks rent, ſo that the water entred in on all ſides, which fight was maintained againſt them by *Seimore* and *Winter*; In which diſtreſs they were driven near *Oſtend*, where again they were ſhot through and through by the *Zelanders*: Their deſparate condition being known, the Duke of *Medina* ſent his own skiff for Don *Diego Piementelli*, Campmaſter, and Colonel over thirty two Bands: But he in a *Spaniſh* Bravado refuſed to leave his ſhip, and like a Souldier aſſayed every way

way to free himſelf: But being unable to do it, he forthwith made towards the coaſt of *Flanders*, where being again ſet upon by five *Dutchmen* of War, was required to yield, which finally he did unto Captain *Peter Banderdueſs*, who carried him into *Zeland*: and for a Trophy of his victory hung up his Banner in the Church of *Leiden*, whoſe length reached from the very roof to the ground: Another alſo of the *Spaniſh* ſhips coaſting for *Flanders*, was caſt away upon the ſands.

Franciſco de Toledo alſo, being likewiſe a Colonel over thirty two Bands in the other Gallion, taking his courſe for the coaſt of *Flanders*, his ſhip proved ſo leak, that himſelf with ſome others of the chief betook themſelves to their skiff, and arrived at *Oſtend*, the ſhip with the reſidue being taken by the *Fluſhingers*.

The *Spaniards* now finding their welcome into *England* far worſe than they expected, were content to couch their Fleet as cloſe together as they could, not ſeeking to offend their enemies, but only to defend themſelves, and the wind coming to the South-weſt, in the ſame order they paſſed by *Dunkirk*, the *Engliſh* ſtill following them at the heels. But leſt the Prince of *Parma* ſhould take this advantage

tage to put forth to Sea, the Lord Admiral diſpatched the Lord *Henry Seimore* with his ſquaron of ſmall ſhips to the Coaſt of *Flanders*, to joyn with thoſe *Hollanders*, which there kept watch under *Juſtin* of *Naſſau*, their Admiral: This *Holland* Fleet conſiſted of thirty five ſhips, furniſhed with moſt skilful Mariners, and twelve hundred Muskiteers, old experienced Souldiers, whom the States had culled out of ſeveral Gariſons: Their charge was to ſtop up the *Flemiſh* Havens, and to prevent entercourſe with *Dunkirk*, whither the Prince of *Parma* was come, and would fain have adventured forth, though his men were unwilling, hearing how their friends had been entertained at Sea: Only the *Engliſh* fugitives, being about ſeven hundred in number, under that treacherous Knight, Sir *William Stanley*, were very forward to be the firſt that ſhould aſſault *England*.

July the 31 betimes in the morning the North-weſt-wind blew hard, and the *Spaniſh* Fleet laboured by that advantage to return to the narrow ſtrait, but were driven towards *Zeland*: whereupon the *Engliſh* gave off the chaſe, becauſe they ſaw them carried almoſt to their utter ruine; for they could not but run a ground upon the ſands and ſhallows neer *Zeland*: but the wind

turn-

turning preſently into the South-weſt and by Weſt, they ſailed before the wind, by which means they were cleared of the ſhallowes, and ſo that evening they called a Councel what to do, and by conſent it was reſolved to return into *Spain* by the Northern Ocean: for that they wanted many neceſſaries, eſpecially great ſhot; their ſhips alſo were pitifully torn, and there remained no hope that the Prince of *Parma* would or could bring forth his Fleet.

The *Armado* having now gotten more Sea-room for their huge bodied bulks, ſpread their Main ſails, and made away as faſt as wind and water would give them leave: More fearing the ſmall Fleet and forces of the *Engliſh* (though far inferiour to them) then ſtanding upon terms of honour either for the credit of their Commanders, or their *Invincible Navy*: But ſurely if they had known the want of Powder ours ſuſtained (a fault inexcuſable upon our own Coaſts) they no doubt would have ſtood better to their tacklings: But God in this, as in all the reſt, infatuated them, and would have us to acknowledge that our deliverance was by his own gracious Providence and power, and not by any ſtrength or policy of our own.

The *Spaniſh* Fleet beeing now carried forth

forth into the deep, they directed their courſe Northward, and our *Engliſh* Admiral followed them, leſt they ſhould attempt to put into *Scotland*, againſt whom they now and then turned head, but ſtood not to it: Yet moſt men thought they would return, whereupon our Queen with a manly courage took a view of her Army and Camp at *Tilbury*, and walking through the ranks of Armed men placed on both ſides, with a Leaders Truncheon in her hand, ſometimes in a martial pace, and other ſometimes like a woman, incredible it is how much ſhe ſtrengthened and encouraged the hearts both of her Captains and Souldiers with her ſpeech and preſence. But contrary to expectation, the enemies with their ſails ſpread, betook themſelves to an abſolute flight, and leaving *Scotland* on the Weſt, they bended their Courſe towards *Norway*, being ill adviſed therein, (but their neceſſity urged, and God had infatuated their Counſels) thus to adventure to put their ſhaken and battered bottoms into thoſe black and dangerous Seas: Neither was the Climate heathful for the crazed Bodies of the *Spaniards*, overbeaten, and tired with wants, they being now entred the fifty ſeventh degree of Northerly Latitude; from whence our Lord Ad-

Admiral returned, leaving only ſome Scouts to diſcover their ſucceſs.

When the Prince of *Parma* came to *Dunkirk*, the *Spaniards* entertained him with opprobrious ſpeeches, as if in favour of Queen *Elizabeth*, he had neglected his opportunity, and willingly overthrown ſo hopeful a Deſign. The Prince to give them ſome ſatisfaction puniſhed his Purveyors of Victuals, yet withal laughing in his ſleeve at the inſolency of the *Spaniards*, having heard them formerly to make their boaſts that whitherſoever they went they carried aſſured victory along with them, and that the *Engliſh* durſt not once abide to look them in the face.

The *Spaniards* (as was ſaid even now) being freed from the *Engliſh* that had haunted them like their Ghoſts, conſulted moſt ſeriouſly what was next to be done: they were very tender of the Popes Credit, who had propheſied, that this attempt would be fortunate and ſucceſsful: The wrath of King *Philip* of *Spain* was to be feared, his vaſt Expences being thus loſt, and his hopes fruſtrated: other Adventurers would be undone: the glory of the *Spaniards* would be laid in the duſt: the *Invincible Navy* become a ſcorn, and *England* would ſtill be *England*, not lorded over by the *Spaniards*,

niards, if without further attempt they ſhould return into *Spain*. But on the other hand they conſidered that 5 thouſand of the Souldiers were ſlain: a multitude of their Survivors lay ſick or maimed upon their hands: Twelve of their greateſt ſhips were ſunk, loſt, or taken: their Cables, Maſts, and Sails were cut, rent and broken with the *Engliſh* ſhot: Their Anchors left in the road of *Calis*: their victuals failed: Their freſh water was ſpent: and their enemies no leſs fierce, undaunted, and ſucceſsful than at the firſt: The Prince of *Parma* though long in preparing, yet ſtill unready, and kept in by the *Dutch*, Queen *Elizabeths* firm Allies: which circumſtances wiſely ballanced, the vote went currant for their haſtning to *Spain*.

But withal knowing that the King of *Scots* (faſt knit in affection and blood to our Queen) would yield them no ſupplies; and having as little hope that *Norway* would afford them any, they caſt all their, Horſes, and Mules overboard, for the ſparing of their freſh water: and ſo framing their courſe to ſail about *Cathenes*, and the Coaſts of *Ireland*, they ſteered between the *Orcades* and the Iſles of *Farr* unto the ſixty firſt degree of Latitude: From whence the Duke of *Medina*, with his beſt ſtored

ſhips,

ſhips, took Weſtward over the main Ocean towards *Biſcay*, and at laſt arrived ſafely in *Spain*: where for his welcome, he was depoſed from all his authority, forbidden to come at Court, and commanded to live private, neither could he give ſatisfaction by his bad excuſes, albeit he imputed it to the treachery of his Mariners; to their ignorance; and ſmall experience of thoſe Northern Seas. The want of ſuccours from the Prince of *Parma*; the Tempeſts, Shipwracks and ill fortune: but not a word of the judgement of God, upon that Giant-like undertaking to enſlave all *England* to the *Spaniſh* yoke.

The reſidue of the Ships, being about forty in number, fell nearer with the coaſt of *Ireland*, intending to touch at Cape *Clare*, well hoping there to refreſh themſelves, and ſupply their wants: but the winds proving contrary and tempeſtuous upon thoſe dangerous Seas, many of their ſhips periſhed upon the *Iriſh* ſhores, and amongſt others a great Galliaſs, wherein *Michael de Oquendo* was Commander, and two other *Venetian* ſhips of great burden, beſides thirty eight more, with moſt of the *Spaniards* contained in them Such as got clear off the danger, put forth to Sea: ſome of which by a ſtrong Weſt Wind were

were driven into the *Engliſh* Channel, where ſome of them were again ſet upon and taken by the *Engliſh*, others by men of *Rochel* in *France*; and ſome arrived at *New Haven* in *Normandy*: So that of one hundred thirty four ſhips that ſet ſail out of *Liſbon*, only fifty three returned into *Spain*: Of the four Galliaſſes of *Naples* but one: of the four Gallions of *Portugal*, but one: of the ninety one *Callions*, and great Hulks from divers Provinces, only thirty three returned, fifty eight being loſt. In brief, they loſt in this voyage eighty one veſſels, thirteen thouſand, five hundred and odd Souldiers. Priſoners taken in *England*, *Ireland*, and the *Low-Countries* were above two thouſand: Amongſt thoſe in *England*, Don *Pedro de Valdez*, Don *Vaſques de Silva*, and Don *Alonzo de Saies*, and others were kept for their ranſome. In *Ireland* Don *Alonzo de Luzon*, *Roderigo de Laſſe*, and others of great account: In *Zeland* was Don *Diego Piementelli*: To be brief, there was no famous, or noble family in all *Spain*, which in this expedition loſt not a ſon, brother, or kinſman. And thus this *Armado* which had been ſo many years in preparing, and rigging with ſuch vaſt expence, was in one month many times aſ-

ſaulted, and at length wholly defeated with the ſlaughter of ſo many of her men, not one hundred of the *Engliſh* being lacking, nor one ſmall ſhip of theirs taken, or loſt, ſave only that of *Cocks*: and having traverſed round about all *Britain*, by *Scotland*, the *Orcades* and *Ireland*, moſt grievouſly toſſed, and very much diſtreſſed, and waſted by ſtormes, wracks, and all kinds of miſery, at length came lamely home, with perpetual diſhonour: whereupon *Medals* were ſtamped in memory thereof: A Fleet flying with full ſailes; with this inſcription, *Venit, vidit, fugit*, It came, it ſaw, it fled: Others in honour of our Queen, with flaming ſhips, and a Fleet in a great confuſion, and this Motto, *Dux fœmina facti*, A woman was conductor of the fact.

In the aforementioned wracks above ſeven hundred Souldiers and Sailors were caſt on land in *Scotland*, who (upon the interceſſion of the Prince of *Parma* to the King of *Scots*, and by the permiſſion of Queen *Elizabeth*) were after a years time ſent over into the *Low-Countries*: But more unmercifully were thoſe miſerable wretches dealt withal, whoſe hap was to be driven by tempeſt into *Ireland*: Some of them being

ing ſlain by the wild *Iriſh* (their old friends) and others of them being put to death by the command of the Lord Deputy: For he fearing leſt they might joyn with the *Iriſh* to diſturb the peace of the Nation, commanded *Bingham*, Governour of *Connaught* to deſtroy them: but he, refuſing to deal ſo rigorouſly with thoſe that had yielded themſelves, He ſent *Fowle*, Deputy-Marſhall, who drew them out of their lurking holes, and cut off the heads of above two hundred of them; which fact the Queen from her heart condemned, and abhorred as a fact of too great cruelty. The remainder of them being terrified herewith, ſick and ſtarven as they were, committed themſelves to Sea in their ſhattered veſſels, and were many of them ſwallowed up by the Waves.

The *Spaniards* charged the whole fault of their overthrow upon the Prince of *Parma*, as if in favour to our Queen he had wilfully and artificially delayed his coming to them: But this was but an invention, and pretention given out by them, partly upon a *Spaniſh* envy againſt that Prince, he being an *Italian*, and his Son a Competitor to the Kingdom of *Portugal*: But chiefly to ſave the ſcorn and monſtous

diſreputation which they and their Nation received by the ſucceſs of that enterpriſe: Therefore their colours, and excuſes (forſooth) were, That their General by Sea had a limited Commiſſion, not to fight till the Land Forces were come in to them, and that the Prince of *Parma* had particular reaches and ends of his own to croſs the deſigne.

But it was both a ſtrange Commiſſion, and a ſtrange Obedience to a Commiſſion, for men in the midſt of their own blood, and being ſo furiouſly aſſailed, to hold their hands, contrary to the Laws of Nature and neceſſity. And as for the Prince of *Parma*, he was reaſonably well tempted to be true to that enterpriſe, by no leſs promiſe than to be made a Feudatory or Beneficiary King of *Englanp* under the Seignory (in chief) of the Pope, and the protection of the King of *Spain*. Beſides, it appeared that the Prince of *Parma* held his place long after of the Govenment of the *Netherlands*, in the favour and truſt of the King of *Spain*, and by the great imployments and ſervices that he performed in *France*. It is alſo manifeſt that this Prince did his beſt to come down, and put to Sea: The truth was, that the *Spaniſh* Navy

Navy, upon thoſe proofs of Fight which they had with the *Engliſh*, finding how much hurt they received, and how little, hurt they did, by reaſon of the activity and low building of our ſhips, and skill of Sea-men; and being alſo commanded by a General of ſmall courage and experience, and having loſt at firſt two of their braveſt Commanders at Sea, *Pedro de Valdez*, and *Michael de Oquenda*, durſt not put it to a Battel at Sea, but ſet up their reſt wholly upon the Land enterpriſe. On the other ſide, the tranſportation of the Land Forces failed in the very foundation; For, whereas the Council of *Spain* made full account that their Navy ſhould be Maſter of the Sea, and therefore able to guard and protect the Veſſels of Tranſportation: When it fell out to the contrary, that the great Navy was diſtreſſed, and had enough to do to ſave it ſelf, and that their Land Forces were impounded by the *Hollanders*. Things (I ſay) being in this ſtate, it came to paſs that the Prince of *Parma* muſt have flown, if he would have come into *England*, for he could get neither Bark, nor Mariner to put to Sea. Yet certain it is that the Prince looked for the comming

back of the *Armado* even at that time when they were wandring, and making their perambulation upon the Northern Seas.

Thus we ſee the curſe of God and his threatning in Scripture accompliſhed: *They came out againſt us one way, and they fled ſeven wayes before us*: making good (even to the aſtoniſhment of all Poſterity) the wonderful Judgments of God poured out commonly upon ſuch vaſt and proud aſpirings.

After this Glorious Deliverance of our Land by the Power of the *Omnipotent*, and the wild Boar repelled that ſought to lay waſte *Englands* fair and fruitful Vineyard, our Gracious and Godly Queen (who ever held Ingratitude a Capital ſin, eſpecially towards her *Almighty Protector*) as ſhe had begun with Prayer, ſo ſhe ended with Praiſe, commanding ſolemn *Thankſgiving* to be celebrated to the Lord of Hoſts at the Cathedral Church of Saint *Paul* in her chief City of *London*, which accordingly was done upon Sabbath day the eighth of *September*: at which time eleven of the *Spaniſh* Enſignes (the once badges of their bravery, but now of their vanity and ignominy)

nominy) were hung upon the lower battlements of that Church, as Palmes of Praiſe for *Englands* Deliverance: a ſhew no doubt more pleaſing to God than when their ſpread colours did ſet out the pride of the *Spaniards*, threatning the blood of ſo many innocent and faithful Chriſtians.

Queen *Elizabeth* her ſelf, to be an example unto others upon Sabbath the twenty fourth of *September*, came from her Palace of *White-Hall* in *Weſtminſter*, through the ſtreets of *London* (which were hung with blew Cloth, the Companies of the City ſtanding in their Liveries on both ſides with their Banners in goodly order) being carrieed in a Chariot drawn with two Horſes to St. *Pauls* Church, where diſmounting from her Chariot at the Weſt door, ſhe humbled her ſelf upon her knees and with great devotion, in an audible voice She praiſed God as her only *Defender*, who had delivered Her ſelf and People from the bloody deſignes of ſo cruel an enemy. The Sermon then preached tended wholly wholly to give all the glory to God, as the Author of this wonderful deliverance: and when that was ended, Her Majeſty

Herſelf, with moſt Princely and Chriſtian ſpeeches exhorted all the people to a due performance of thoſe religious ſervices of thankfulneſs which the Lord expected and required of them.

About the ſame time the Fair being kept in *Southwark*, the *Spaniſh* Flags were hung up at *London Bridge* to the great joy of the beholders, and eternal infamy of the *Spaniards* proud attempts, as irreligious as unſucceſsful. But the ſolemn day appointed for Thanksgiving throughout the Land was the nineteenth of *November* being Tueſday, which accordingly was obſerved with great joy and praiſing of God; and well it were if it had ſo continued ſtill, being no leſs a Deliverance than was that of *Purim* amongſt the *Jews*, which they inſtituted to be kept holy throughout their Generations.

The *Zelanders* alſo to leave a memorial of their thnakfulneſs to God, and their faithfulneſs to our Queen, cauſed *Medals* of Silver to be ſtamped, having engraven on the one ſide the Armes of their Countrey; with this inſcription, *Glory to God alone*, and on the reverſe, the pourtracture of great Ships, under written, *the Spaniſh Fleet*, and in the circumference, *It came*,

It

It went, It was, Anno 1588. In other medals alſo were ſtamped ſhips floating, and ſinking, and in the reverſe, Supplicants upon their knees, with this Motto, *man propoſeth, God diſpoſeth*, 1588. The *Hollanders* alſo ſtamped ſome medals with *Spaniſh* ſhips and this Motto, *Impius fugit nemine ſequente:* the wicked fly when none purſues.

Our Queen, to ſhew her gratitude as well to the inſtruments as to the Author of this great Deliverance, aſſigned certain yearly Rents to the Lord Admiral for his gallant ſervice, and many times commended him, and the other Captains of Her ſhips, as men born for the Preſervation of their Country. The reſt ſhe graciouſly ſaluted by name as oft as ſhe ſaw them, as men of notable deſerts, wherewith they held themſelves well apaid, and thoſe which were wounded, maimed, or poor, She rewarded with competent penſions.

The Lord of Hoſts having thus diſpelled this ſtorm, the Queen diſſolved her Camp at *Tilbury*, and not long after the Earl of *Leiceſter* ended his dayes, having been a Peer of great eſtate and honour, but liable to the common deſtiny of *Great*

ones,

omes, whom all men magnifie in their life time, but few speak well of after their death.

THis Admirable Deliverance was congratulated by almost all other Nations, especially by all the reformed Churches, and many Learned Men celebrated the same in Verse, amongst which I shall onely mention two: The first was that Poem made by Reverend Mr. *Beza*; Translated into all the chief Languages in Christendom, to be perpetuated to all ensuing Posterity. It was this.

STraverat innumeris Hispanus classibus æquor,
Regnis junctarus Sceptra Britana suis
Tanti hujus rogitas quæ motus causa? superbos
Impulit Ambitio, vexat avaritia.

Quam

Quam bene te Ambitio merſit vaniſſima ventus;
Et tumidæ tumidos Vos ſuperaſtis aquæ!
Quam bene Raptores Orbis totius Iberos
Merſit inexhauſti juſta vorago Maris!
At tu, cui venti, cui totum militat Æquor,
Regina, O mundi totius una decus:
Sic regnare Deo perge, Ambitione remota,
Prodiga ſic opibus perge juvare pios;
Ut te Angli longum, longùm Anglis ipſa fruaris,
Quam dilecta bonis, tam metuenda malis.

Spains

SPaines King with Navies great the Seas beſtrew'd,
T' augment with *Engliſh* Crown his *Spaniſh* ſway:
Ask ye what caus'd this proud attempt? 'twas lewd
Ambition drove, and *Avarice* led the way.
It's well; Ambitions windy puff lies drown'd
By winds, and ſwelling hearts by ſwelling waves:
It's well; thoſe *Spaniards* who the *Worlds* vaſt round
Devour'd, devouring Sea moſt juſtly craves.
But thou O *Queen*, for whom *Winds*, *Seas* do war,
O thou the Glory of this Worlds wide Maſs,

So

So reign to God ſtill, from *Ambition* far,
So ſtill with bounteous aids the *Good* imbrace:
That Thou maiſt *England* long, long *England* Thee enjoy
Thou terror of all *Bad*, Thou *Good* mens joy.

The other is that, made by Mr: Samuel Ward *of* Ipſwich.

OCtogeſimus Octavus, *Mirabilis annus*
Clade Papiſtarum, Fauſtus ubique piis.

IN *Eighty eight Spain* arm'd with potent might
Againſt our peaceful Land came on to fight:
Againſt

The *Winds*, and *Waves*, and *Fire* in one conſpire
To help the *Engliſh*, fruſtrate *Spains* deſire.

FINIS.

THE Gun-Powder Treason:

Being

A Remembrance to *England*, OF THAT Ancient Deliverance

From that

Horrid PLOT, Hatched by the Bloody PAPISTS, 1605.

Tending to revive the Memory of the FIFTH OF *NOVEMBER* to every Family in this NATION:

That all sorts may be stirred up to real Thankfulness, and transmit the same to their Posterities; that their Children may know the reason why the *Fifth of November* is Celebrated; that GOD may have *Glory*, and the PAPISTS perpetual *Infamy*.

The LORD is known by the judgement that he executeth, but the wicked is snared in the work of his own hands. HIGGAION SELAH. Psal. 9. 16.

By *Sam. Clark*, Pastor of *Bennet Fink*, *London*.

London, Printed for *J. Hancock*, and are to be sold at the *three Bibles*, being the first Shop in *Popes-Head* Alley, next to *Cornhill*. 1671.

TO THE
READER.

Christian Reader,

LEast the Remembrance of so signal a Mercy, and Deliverance vouchsafed by God both to our Church and State should be buried in Oblivion, I have (at the request of the Book-seller) presented thee here with a true and faithful Narrative of that Grand Work of Darkness forged in Hell, and by Satan suggested to some Popish Instru-

ments, who envying the peace and prosperity of our Church, and progress of the Gospel, had designed at one blow to overthrow both: And that nothing might be wanting to compleat that horrid wickedness, their purpose was to have charged it upon the Puritans, thereby hoping to free themselves, and their Religion from the imputation of so hainous a crime.

Now that the memorial of a Mercy of such publick and general concernment should not be forgotten, we have the Word of the Eternal God to be our Guide therein, when the Lord had by his Angel destroyed the first born of Egypt, *and spared* Israel, *He instituted the Feast of the Passover to continue the memorial thereof through their Generations*, Exod. 12. 11, 12, 14, 26, 27. *saith* Moses *to them, when your Children shall say unto you*, What mean you by this service? *Ye shall say, It is the Sacrifice*

criſice of the Lords Paſſover, who paſſed over the houſes the Children of Iſrael, *when He ſmote the* Egyptians, *and delivered our houſes: And how careful good* Mordecai *was to continue the remembrance of that great Deliverance of the people of God from Deſtruction plotted, and contrived by that wicked* Haman, *appears* Eſther 9. 20. &c. *where they did not only celebrate thoſe preſent dayes of their Deliverance with Feaſting and Gladneſs: but he, together with the reſt of the* Jewes *ordained, and took upon them, and their Seed, and upon all ſuch as joyned themſelves unto them, ſo as it ſhould not fail, that they would keep thoſe days in their appointed time every year, and that thoſe days ſhould be remembred, and kept through their Generations, every Family, every Province, and every City, and that thoſe days of Purim ſhould not fail from amongſt the*

Jews, *nor the memorial of them periſh from their Seed*, &c. *And truly the remembrance of this great Mercy hath the more need to be revived at this time, when ſome noted perſons amongſt us begin to leſſen, and decry it, and wholly to lay aſide the obſervation of that day, though enjoyned by Act of Parliament, and made Conſcience of by moſt of the Godly People of the Nation. I have alſo been induced the rather to make this brief Collection of the Story, becauſe, though it be publiſhed by others; yet it is in larger Volumes, which are not every ones mony; whereas for a ſmall matter every family may get and keep this by them for the benefit, and ſatisfaction both of themſelves and children, that ſo the Lord may not loſe of his Glory, nor they (for want of information) fail of their duty. I ſhall conclude with that of the* Pſalmiſt, Pſal. 107. 8. O that men would praiſe the Lord for his Goodneſs:

neſs: and for his wonderful Works to the Children of Men: *which is the hearty deſire of*

Thine

for thy ſpiritual Good,

Sam. Clarke.

Octob. 1657.

THE DELIVERANCE OF OUR *CHURCH and STATE* FROM THE *Helliſh* Powder-Plot. 1605.

THE Plot was to undermine the Parliament Houſe, and with Powder to blow up the King, Prince, Clergy, Nobles, Knights, and Burgeſſes, the very confluence of all the flower of Glory, Piety, Learning, Prudence and Authority in the Land: Fathers, Sons, Brothers, Allies, Friends, Foes, Papiſts and Proteſtants, all at one blaſt.

Their

Their intent, when that irreligious atchievement had been performed, was, to surprize the remainder of the Kings Issue, to alter Religion and Government, and to bring in a forreign Power, Sir *Edmond Baynam*, an attainted person (who stiled himself *Prince of the damned Crew*) was sent unto the Pope as he was a temporal Prince to acquaint him with the Gunpowder Plot: and now to the Plot it self.

The Sessions of Parliament being dissolved, *July* the 7th. *Anno Christi*, 1605. and prorogued to the seventh of *February* following: *Catesby* being at *Lambeth*, sent for *Thomas Winter*; who before had been imployed into *Spain*, and acquainted him with the design of blowing up the Parliament House, who readily apprehending it, said, *This indeed strikes at the root*, only these helps were wanting; a House for residence, and a skilful man to carry on the Mine: But the first, *Catesby* assured him was easie to be got; and for the man, he commended *Guy Fawkes*, a sufficient Souldier, and a forward Catholick: Thus *Robert Catesby*, *John Wright*, *Thomas Winter*, and *Guy Fawkes* had many meetings, and conferences about this businesse,

buſineſs, till at laſt *Thomas Percy* came puffing in to *Catesby*'s Lodging at *Lambeth*, ſaying, *What Gentlemen, ſhall we alwaies be talking, and never do any thing? You cannot be ignorant how things proceed?* To whom *Catesby* anſwered, that ſomething was reſolved on, but firſt an Oath for ſecreſie was to be adminiſtred: for which purpoſe they appointed to meet ſome three days after, behind Saint *Clements* Church beyond *Temple*-Bar; where being met, *Percy* profeſſed that for the Catholick cauſe himſelf would be the man to advance it, were it with the ſlaughter of the King, which he was there ready to undertake and and do.

No *Tom* (ſaid *Catesby*) thou ſhalt not adventure thy ſelf to ſo ſmall purpoſe; if thou wilt be a Traytor, there is a Plot to greater advantage, and ſuch an one as can never be diſcovered: Hereupon all of them took the Oath of Secreſie, heard a Maſs, and received the Sacrament, after which *Catesby* told them his Devilliſh Deviſe by mine and Gunpowder to blow up the Parliament Houſe, and ſo by one ſtroke with the deſtruction of many to effect that at once which had been many years attempting: And for caſe of conſcience to

kill

kill the innocent with the nocent, he told them that it was warrantable by the Authority of *Garnet* himself, the superiour of the *English* Jesuites, and of *Garrard* and *Tresmond* (Jesuitical Priests likewise) who by their Apostolical Power did commend the fact, and absolve the actors. The Oath was given them by the said *Garrard* in these words;

You shall swear by the blessed Trinity, and by the Sacrament you now purpose to receive, never to disclose, directly nor indirectly, by word, or circumstance, the matter that shall be proposed to you to keep secret, nor desist from the execution thereof until the rest shall give you leave.

The Project being thus far carried on, in the next place the first thing they sought after was an house wherein they might begin their work, for which purpose no place was held fitter than a certain edifice adjoyning to the wall of the Parliament House, which served for a withdrawing room

room to the Assembled Lords, and out of Parliament time was at the dispose of the Keeper of the place, and Wardrobe thereto belonging: these did *Percy* hire for his Lodgings, entertaining *Guy Fawkes* as his man, who changing his name into *Johnson* had the Keyes, and keeping of the Rooms. Besides this, they hired another house to lay in Provision of Powder, and to frame, and fit wood in for the carrying on the Mine, which *Catesby* provided at *Lambeth*, and sware *Robert Keies* into their Conspiracy, whom he made the Keeper of those Provisions, who by night conveyed the same unto *Fawkes*.

The appointed day for the Parliament being the seventh day of *February*, It was thought fit to begin their work in *October* before: But *Fawkes* returning out of the Country, found *Percys* Rooms appointed for the *Scottish* Lords to meet in, who were to treat about the union of the two Kingdomes, whereupon they forbore to begin their work: But that Assembly being dissolved upon the eleventh of *December*, late in the night they entred upon the work of darkness beginning their Mine, having tools afore-hand prepared, and baked

baked meats provided, the better to avoid suspition in case they should send abroad for them.

They which first began the Mine were *Robert Catesby* Espuire, the Arch-Contriver and Traytor, and ruine of his name, *Thomas Percy* Esquire, akin to the Earl of *Northumberland*, *Thomas Winter*, *John Wright*, and *Guy Fawks* Gentlemen, and *Thomas Bates*, *Catesby*'s man, all of them well grounded in the *Romish* School, and earnest labourers in this vault of Villany, so that by *Christmas-eve* they had brought the Mine under an entry adjoyning to the wall of the Parliament House, underpropping the earth as they went with their framed timber, nor till that day were they seen abroad of any man.

During this undermining, much consultation was had how to order the rest of the business when the deed should be accomplished: the first was how to surprise the next heir to the Crown: for though they doubted not but that Prince *Henry* would accompany his Father, and perish with him, yet they suspected that Duke *Charles*, as too young to attend the Parliament, would escape the train, and perchance be so carefully guarded, and attended at Court that he would

would be gotten into their hands hardly, but *Percy* offered to be the remover of this rub, resolving with some other Gentlemen to enter the Dukes Chamber, which by reason of his acquaintance he might well do, and others of his like acquaintance should be placed at several doors of the Court, so that when the blow was given, and all men in a maze, then would he carry away the Duke, which he presumed would be easily done, the most of the Court being then absent, and for such as were present, they would be altogether unprovided for resistance.

For the surprize of the Lady *Elizabeth*, it was held a matter of far less difficulty, She remaining at *Comb Abby* in *Warwickshire* with the Lord *Harrington*, and *Ashby*, *Catesby's* house being not far from the same, whither under a pretence of hunting upon *Dunsmore* Heath, many Catholicks should be assembled, who knowing for what purpose they were met had the full liberty in that distracted time to provide Money, Horses, Armour and other necessaries for War, under pretence of strengthening, and guarding the heir apparent to the Crown.

Then it was debated what Lords they should

ſhould ſave from the Parliament, and it was agreed that they ſhould keep as many as they could that were Catholicks or favourers of them: but that all others ſhould feel the ſmart, and that the Treaſon ſhould be charged upon the *Puritans* to make them more odious to the World.

Next it was controverted what forreign Princes they ſhould make privy to this Plot, ſeeing they could not enjoyn them to ſecreſie, nor oblige them by Oath, and this much troubled them. For though *Spain* was held fitteſt to ſecond their Plot, yet he was ſlow in his preparations, and *France* was too near and too dangerous to be dealt with, and how the *Hollanders* ſtood affected to *England* they knew very well. But while they were thus buſying themſelves, and tormenting their brains, the Parliament was adjourned to the fifth day of *October* enſuing, whereupon they brake off both diſcourſe and work till *Candlemaſs*, and then they laid in powder, and other proviſions, beginning their work again, and having in the mean time taken into their company *Chriſtopher Wright*, and *Robert Winter*; being firſt ſworn, and receiving the Sacrament for ſecreſie, the Foundation Wall of the Parliament Houſe being

being very hard, and nine Foot thick, with great difficulty they Wrought half through; *Fawkes* being their Centinel to give warning when any came near, that the Noiſe in Digging might not be heard.

The Labourers this working into the Wall, were ſurprized with a great fear, and caſting away their digging Tools, betook themſelves to their Weapons, having ſufficient ſhot, and powder in the houſe, and fully reſolving rather to dye in the place than to yield or be taken. The cauſe of this their fear was a noiſe that they heard in a Room under the Parliament Houſe, under which they meant to have Mined, which was directly under the Chair of State; but now all on a ſudden they were at a ſtand, and their countenances caſt each upon other, as doubtful what would be the iſſue of this their Enterprize. *Fawkes* ſcouted out to ſee what he could diſcover abroad, and finding all ſafe and free from ſuſpition, he returned and told them that the noiſe was only occaſioned by the removal of Coals that were now upon Sale, and that the Cellar was to be let, which would be more commodious for their purpoſe, and alſo would ſave their labour for

the Mine. Hereupon *Thomas Percy* under pretence of ſtowage for his Winter Proviſion and Coals, went and hired the Cellar, which done they began a new conference, wherein *Catesby* found the weight of the whole work too heavy for himſelf alone to ſupport: for beſides the maintenance of ſo many perſons, and the ſeveral houſes for the ſeveral uſes hired and paid for by him, the Gunpowder and other Proviſions would riſe to a very great ſum, and indeed too much for one mans Purſe. He deſired therefore that himſelf, *Percy*, and one more might call in ſuch perſons as they thought fit to help to maintain the charge, alledging that they knew men of worth and wealth that would willingly aſſiſt, but were not willing that their names ſhould be known to the reſt. This requeſt, as neceſſary, was approved, and therefore ceaſing to dig any further in the Vault, knowing that the Cellar would be fitter for their purpoſe, they removed into it twenty Barrels of Gunpowder, which they covered with a Thouſand Billets, and five hundred Faggots, ſo that now their Lodging Rooms were cleared of all ſuſpicious Proviſion, and might be freely entered into without danger of diſcovery.

But

But the Parliament being again prorogued to the Fifth of *November* following, theſe perſons thought fit that for a while they ſhould again diſperſe themſelves (all things being already in ſo good a forwardneſs, and that *Guy Fawkes* ſhould go over to acquaint Sir *William Stanley*, and Maſter *Hugh Owen* with theſe their proceedings,) yet ſo, as the Oath of Secreſie ſhould be firſt taken by them. For their deſign was to have Sir *William Stanleys* preſence ſo ſoon as the fatal blow ſhould be given, to be a leader to their intended Stratagems, whereof (as they thought) they ſhould have great need, and that *Owen* ſhould remain where he was, to hold correſpondency with forreign Princes, to allay the odiouſneſs of the fact, and to impute the Treaſon to the diſcontented *Puritans*.

Fawkes coming into *Flanders* found *Owen*, unto whom, after the Oath, he declared the Plot, which he very well approved of; but Sir *William Stanley* being now in *Spain*, *Owen* ſaid that he would hardly be drawn into the buſineſs, having Suits at this time in the *Engliſh* Court: yet he promiſed to engage him all that he could, and to ſend into *England* with the firſt, ſo

ſoon as their Plot had taken effect: Upon this, *Fawkes* to avoid further ſuſpicion, kept ſtill in *Flanders* till the beginning of *September*, and then returning, received the Keys of the Cellar, and laid in more Powder, Billets and Faggots, which done he retired into the Countrey, and there kept till the end of *October*.

In the mean time *Catesby* and *Percy*, meeting at the *Bath*, it was there concluded that becauſe th ir number was but few, *Catesby* himſelf ſhould have power to call in whom he would to aſſiſt their deſign, by which authority he took in Sir *Everard Digby* of *Rutlandſhire*, and *Francis Treſham* Eſquire of *Northamptonſhire*, both of them of ſufficient ſtate and wealth: For Sir *Everard* offered fifteen hundred pounds to forward the Action, and *Treſham* two thouſand. But *Percy* diſdaining that any ſhould out-run him in evil, promiſed four thouſand pounds out of the Earl of *Northumberlands* Rents, and ten ſwift horſes to be uſed when the blow was paſt. Againſt which time to provide Ammunition, *Catesby* alſo took in *Ambroſe Rookwood*, and *John Grant*, two Recuſant Gentlemen, and without doubt others were acquainted alſo with it, had theſe two grand Electors been apprehended

aprehended alive, whoſe own tongues only could have given an account of it.

The buſineſs being thus forwarded abroad by their complices, they at home were no leſs active: For *Percy*, *Winter*, and *Fawkes* had ſtored the Cellar with thirty ſix Barrels of Gunpowder, and inſtead of ſhot, had laid upon them barrs of Iron, logs of timber, maſſie ſtones, Iron Crowes, Pick-axes, and all their working tools: and to cover all, great ſtore of Billets and Faggots, ſo that nothing was wanting againſt that great and terrible day. Neither were the Prieſts and Jeſuits ſlack on their parts, who uſually concluded their Maſſes with prayers for the good ſucceſs of their expected hopes, about which *Garnet* made theſe Verſes,

Gentem aufert perfidam credentium
de ſuis bus:
Ut Chriſto laudes debitas perſolvamus
alacriter.

And others thus. *Proſper Lord their pains that labour in thy cauſe day and night: Let Hereſie vaniſh away like ſmoke: Let their memory periſh with a crack like the ruine and fall of a broken houſe.*

Upon

Upon *Thursday* in the evening, ten days before the Parliament was to begin, a Letter directed to the Lord *Monteagle*, was delivered by an unknown person to his footman in the street, with a strait charge to give it into his Lords own hands, which accordingly he did: The Letter had neither date, nor subscription, and was somewhat unlegible, so that the Nobleman called for one of his servants to assist him in reading it; the strange contents whereof much perplexed him, he not knowing whether it was writ as a *Pasquil* to scare him from attendance at the Parliament, or as a matter of consequence, and advice from some friend: Howsoever, though it were now supper-time, and the night very dark, yet to shew his loyalty to his Soveraign, he immediately repaired to *White-Hall*, and imparted the Letter to the Earl of *Salisbury*, then principal Secretary, and they both presently acquainted the Lord *chamberlain* therewith, who deemed the matter not a little to concern himself; his Office requiring him to oversee all the places to which his Majesty was to repair: Hereupon these two Counsellors shewed the Letter to the Earls of *Worcester* and *Northampton*, and all concluded (how slight soever

ſoever the contents ſeemed to appear) to acquaint the King himſelf with the ſame, which accordingly was done: and the Letwas as followeth:

My Lord,

OUt of the Love I bear to ſome of your friends, I have a care of your preſervation: Therefore I would adviſe you as you tender your life, to deviſe ſome excuſe to ſhift off your attendance at this Parlivment: For God and man have concurred to puniſh the wickedneſs of this time. And think not ſlightly of this Advertiſement, but retire your ſelf into your Country, where you may expect the event in ſafety. For though there be no appearance of any ſtir, yet I ſay they ſhall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they ſhall not ſee who hurts them. This Counſel is not to be contemned, becauſe it may do you good, and can do you no harm: For the danger is paſt ſo ſoon as you have burnt the Letter; and I

hope God will give you the grace to make a good use of it, to whose holy protection I commend you.

His Majesty after reading this Letter, pausing a while, and then reading it again; delivered his judgment, that the stile of it was too quick and pithy to be a Libel, proceeding from the superfluities of an idle brain, and by these words, *That they should receive a terrible blow at this Parliament, and yet not see who hurt them*; he presently apprehended, that a sudden danger by a blast of Gunpowder was intended by some base villain in a corner, though no Insurrection, Rebellion, or desperate attempt appeared: and therefore wished that the Rooms under the Parliament House should be throughly searched, before himself or Peers should sit therein: Hereupon it was concluded that the Lord *Chamberlain* (according to his Office) should view all the Rooms above and below: but yet to prevent idle rumours, and to let things ripen further, it was resolved that this search should be deferred till *Munday*, the day immediately before the Parliament, and that then it should be done with a seeming slight eye to avoid suspect.

&c.

According to this concluſion, the Earl of *Suffolk*, Lord *Chamberlain*, upon *Munday* in the afternoon, accompanied with the Lord *Monteagle*, repaired into thoſe under Romes, and finding the Cellar ſo fully ſtored with Wood and Coals, demanded of *Fawkes*, the counterfeit *Johnſon*, who ſtood there attending as a ſervant of ſmall repute, *Who owed the place?* He anſwered that the Lodgings belonged to Maſter *Thomas Percy*, and the Cellar alſo to lay in his Winter Proviſion, himſelf being the Keeper of it, and Maſter: *Percy*'s ſervant: whereunto the Earl, as void of any ſuſpicion, told him that his Maſter was well provided againſt Winter blaſts: But when they were come forth, the Lord *Monteagle* told him that he did much ſuſpect *Percy* to be the Inditer of the Letter, knowing his affection in Religion, and the friendſhip betwixt them profeſſed, ſo that his heart gave him (as he ſaid) when he heard *Percy* named, that his hand was in the Act.

The Lord *Chamberlain* returning, related to the King and Council what he had ſeen, and the ſuſpition that the Lord *Monteagle* had of *Percy*, and himſelf of *Johnſon* his man, all which increaſed his Majeſties jealouſie, ſo that he inſiſted (contra-

ry

ry to the opinion of some) that a narrower search should be made, and the Billets and Coals turned up to the bottom: and accordingly the search was concluded to be made, but under colour of searching for certain Hangings belonging to the house, which were missing and conveyed away.

Sir *Thomas Knevet*) a Gentleman of His Majesties Privy Chamber) was employed herein, who about midnight before the Parliament was to begin, went to the place with a small, but trusty number of persons: And at the door of the entrance to the Cellar, finding one (who was *Guy Fawkes*) at so unseasonable an hour cloked, and booted, he apprehended him, and ransacking the Billet, he found the Serpents nest stored with thirty six barrels of Powder, and then searching the Villain, he found about him a dark Lanthorn three Matches, and other instruments for blowing up the Powder: And being no whit daunted, he instantly confessed his guiltiness, and was so far from Repentance, as he vowed, that had he been within the house (as indeed he was but immediately come forth from his work) he would certainly have blown up the House with himself and them all: And being

being brought before the Council; he lamented nothing so much as because the deed was not done, saying, that *the Devil, and not God was the discoverer of it.*

As desperate were *Catesby*, *Percy*, and the rest, who seeing the Treason discover'd, posted all into *Warwickshire*, where *Grant*, and his associates had broken open the Stables belonging to *Warwick* Castle, and taken some great horses out of the same, to forward their hoped for great day. At *Dun-Church* Sir *Everard Digby* had made a match for a great hunting, that under pretence thereof they might seize upon the Lady *Elizabeth* then at *Comb Abby*, but when by those which posted from *London* they were informed that they were discovered, and pursued, being struck with a great fear, not knowing whither to fly, they desperately began an open Rebellion, pretending that they did it for the cause of Religion, all the Catholicks throats being intended to be cut, and so trooping together they wandred through *Warwickshire*, being pursued by Sir *Richard Verney*, the then High Sheriff, and from thence they went through *Worcestershire* into *Staffordshire*, their servants, and followers being about eighty men, who also stole away many of them from them. Thus

ranging

ranging about, and finding no resistance, they rifled the Lord *Windsors* house of all the Armour, Shot, Powder, and all other Warlike Provisions: but the weather being rainy, and the Waters somewhat high, the Powder in carriage took wet, and so became unserviceable.

For their last refuge they betook themselves to *Holbach* House in *Staffordshire*, belonging to *Steven Littleton*, whither they were pursued by the High Sheriff of *Worcestershire*, who not knowing of the Treason, and thinking it to be only some fray, or riot, sent his Trumpeter unto them, commanding them to render themselves to him His Majesties Minister: But their consciences witnessing what the Sheriff knew not, answered, *that he had need of greater assistance than of those few that were with him, before he could be able to command or controul them:* and so they prepared for resistance, and having laid two pounds of the said Powder into a Platter to dry in the chimney, one coming to mend the fire, threw in a Billet, whereby a spark flew into the Powder, whose sudden blast was so violent, that though so small a quantity, it blew up the roof of the house, scorching the bodies and faces of *Catesby*, *Rookwood*, and *Grant*,

Grant, and ſome others, whoſe conſciences now told them that God had puiſhed them juſtly with Powder, who with Powder would have deſtroyed ſo many. Being diſpirited with this accident, yet like deſperate men, they reſolved to die together, ſet open the Gates, and ſuffered the Sheriffs men to ruſh in upon them, and preſently both the *Wrights* were ſhot down dead: *Rookwood* and *Thomas Winter* were very ſorely wounded, *Catesby* and *Percy* deſperately fighting back to back, were both ſhot thorow, and ſlain with one Musket bullet: the reſt being taken, were carried priſoners to *London*, being all the way gazed at, reviled, and deteſted by the common people for their horrid, and horrible Treaſon: and ſo at laſt they received the juſt guerdon of their wickedneſs.

Thus you have ſeen this work of darkneſs by the watchfulnes of Gods providence detected, and defeated, and the contrivers of miſchief fallen into the pit that they digged for others: Now let us ſee alſo how cunningly they contrived the transferring the *Odium* of it upon the Puritans.

There was one Mr. *Pickering of Tichmarſh-Grove* in *Northamptonſhire* that was in great eſteem with King *James*. This Mr.

Mr. *Pickering* had a horſe of ſpecial note for ſwiftneſs on which he uſed to hunt with the King. A little before the blow was given, Mr. *Keies*, on of the conſpirators, and brother in Law to Mr. *Pickering*, borrowed this horſe of him, and conveyed him to *London* upon a bloody deſign, which was thus contrived. *Fawkes* upon the day of the fatal blow was appointed to retire himſelf into St. *Georges* fields, where this horſe was to attend him to further his eſcape (as they made him believe) ſo ſoon as the Parliament Houſe ſhould be blown up. It was likewiſe contrived, that Mr. *Pickering* who was noted for a Puritan, ſhould that morning be murthered in his bed, and ſecretly conveyed away: As alſo that *Fawkes* ſo ſoon as he came into St. *Georges* fields to eſcape, ſhould be there murthered, and ſo mangled that he could not be known: whereupon it was to be bruited abroad that the Puritans had blown up the Parliament Houſe, and the better to make the World believe it, there was Mr. *Pickering* with his choice Horſe ready to make an eſcape, but that ſtirred up ſome, who ſeeing the heinouſneſs of the fact, and him ready to eſcape, in deteſtation of ſo horrible a deed, fell upon him, and hewed him in pieces, and to make

make it more clear, there was his horſe, known to be of ſpecial ſpeed, and ſwiftneſs, ready to carry him away, and upon this rumour a Maſſacre ſhould havy gone through the whole Land upon the Puritans. When the contrivance of this Plot was thus diſcovered by ſome of the Conſpirators, and *Fawkes*, who was now a Priſoner in the Tower made acquainted with it, whereas before he was made to believe by his companions that he ſhould be bountifully rewarded for that his good ſervice to the Catholick cauſe, now perceiving that on the contrary his death had been contrived by them, he thereupon freely confeſſed all that he knew concerning that horrid conſpiracy, which before all the tortures of the rack could not force him unto.

The truth of all this was atteſted by Mr. *William Perkins*, an eminent Chriſtian and Citizen of *London* to Dr. *Gouge*, which Mr. *Perkins* had it from the mouth of Mr. *Clement Cotton* that made our *Engliſh* Concordance, who alſo had it from the Relation of Mr. *Pickering* himſelf.

FINIS.

A Narrative of the visible hand of God upon the Papists by the Downfall in Black-Friers London. Anno Christi, 1623.

ON the Lords day, *October* the twenty sixth according to the *English* account: but *November* the fifth according to the *Popish* account a common report went far and near, that one *Drurie*, a *Romish Priest* (a man of parts, and eminent gifts) would preach that day in the afternoon in a fair house in *Black-Friers London*, whither all that would might freely come to hear him.

Upon this report very many, Protestants as well as Papists, Scholars as well as others, assembled thither about three a clock in the afternoon; That mansion house was now inhabited by the *French* Ambassador: and the Sermon was to be in a Garret, into

which there were two paſſages: One out of the Ambaſſadorus with-drawing Room which was private, the other more common without the great Gate of the ſaid Manſion Houſe.

Under this Garret was another large Chamber which one *Redyate*, another *Romiſh* Prieſt, had hired for himſelf: Unto whom Papiſts frequently repaired to hear Maſs, and make confeſſions. Under this room was the aforeſaid withdrawing chamber of the Ambaſſador: ſupported with ſtrong Arches of ſtone being immediately over the entrance into the great Houſe: And at the South end of the Garret and on the Weſt ſide thereof, there were Bed-chambers and Cloſets which other Prieſts had hired for themſelves: The Bed-chamber at the South end was ſevered from the Garret only by a partition of Wanſcote which was taken down for the Sermon time: The length of the Garret from North to South was almoſt forty foot, the breadth about ſixteen foot: The two aforeſaid paſſages met on one pair of ſtairs leading to the Garret which had only that one door leading into it.

More came to this place then poſſibly it could hold, ſo that many for want of room returned

returned back again; Others went into the aforesaid *Redyates* Chamber, and tarried with him. The whole Garret, Rooms adjoyning, door, and top of the stairs were as full as they could hold. In the Garret were set chairs and stools for the better sort: most of the women sate on the floor, but most of the men stood thronged together: In all, about two hundred were there assembled. In the midst was a table and a chair for the Preacher.

All things thus prepared, and the multitude assembled, about three of the clock the expected Preacher, having on a Surplice, girt about his middle with a linnen girdle, and a tippet of Scarlet on both his shoulders, came in, being attended by a man that brought after him his book and hour-glass.

As soon as he came to the table, he kneeled down with shew of private devotion for a little while; then rising up, and turning himself to the people, he crossed himself, took the book (which was said to be a *Rhemish* Testament) out of his mans hands, and the hour-glass being set on the table, he opened the book, read the Gospel appointed by the *Romish* Calendar for that day, being the

twenty first Sunday after *Pentecost*: The Gospel was in *Matthew* 18, 23, *&c.* The Text being read, he sate down, put on a red cap over a white linnen one turned up about the brims: He made no audible Prayer, but having read his Text, which was the Parable of forgiving debts, he spake something of the occasion of it, and then propounded these three special points to be handled

1. The debt we owe to God.
2. The mercy of God in forgiving it.
3. Mans unmercifulness to his Brother.

Having insisted some while of the misery of man by reason of the debt wherein he stands bound to God, he passed on to declare the rich mercy of God, and the means which God hath afforded to his Church, for partaking thereof: Amongst which he reckoned up the Sacaments, and especially pressed the Sacrament of *Penance*, as they call it.

When he had discoursed on these points about half an hour, on a sudden the floor whereon the Preacher and the greatest part of his Auditory were, fell down with such violence, as therewith the floor of the Chamber under it, where

Redgate

Redyate and his company were, was broken down with it, ſo that both the floors, with the beams, girders, joyces, boords and ſeelings, with all the people on them, fell down together upon the third floor, which was the floor of the *French* Ambaſſadors withdrawing Chamber, ſupported with ſtrong arches as aforeſad.

There being a partition on the South ſide of the middle Chamber which reached up to the floor of the Garret and ſupported it, that part of the Garret which was beyoud the partition Southward, fell not, ſo as all the people thereon were ſafe, only they had no way to get forth: for there was but one entrance into the Garret, which was at the North-Weſt corner. Hereupon ſome through amazement, would have leaped out at a window almoſt forty foot from the ground: but the people without, telling them of the certain danger if they leaped down, kept them from that deſperate attempt: At length by breaking a wall on the Weſt-ſide they diſcerned Chambers adjoyning thereto, and ſo by creeping through that hole into the Chambers, they were ſaved: So were all they that ſtood on the ſtair-head at the door leading into the Garret: For the

ſtairs were without the Room, and nothing fell but the floors, neither walls nor roof.

Alſo amongſt thoſe that fell, many eſcaped; for ſome of the timber reſted with one end on the walls, and with the other on the third floor that yielded not, and ſo both ſuch as abode on thoſe pieces, and ſuch as were directly under them, were thereby preſerved. Amongſt the multidude that fell, there was a Miniſter who (through Gods Providence) fell ſo between two pieces of timber, as that the timber kept his upper parts from cruſhing, and holped him by his claſping about the timber to pull out his feet from amongſt the dead corpſes.

Amongſt others, the preſent preſervation and future deſtruction of one *Parker* was very remarkable. This *Parker* was a factor for the *Engliſh* Seminaries, and Nunnes beyond Sea, eſpecially at *Cambre*; and he had ſo dealt with two of his brothers here, that he had got from one of them a ſon, and from the other a daughter to ſend them to religious houſes (as they call them) beyond Sea. This *Parker* at this time took his Nephew, a youth of about ſixteen years old to the aforementioned fatal conventi-

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cle, where *Drury* preached: and both *Parker* and his Nephew fell with the reſt: The youth there loſt his life, but *Parker* himſelf eſcaped with a bruiſed body, being a corpulent man: yet ſo far was he from making a good uſe of his deliverance, that with much diſcontent he wiſhed that he had dyed for his Nephew, ſaying, *That God ſaw him not fit to dye amongſt ſuch Martyrs:* Such are *Romes* Martyrs. But *the preſervation of the wicked, is but a reſervation to future judgment*: For about ten days after, as this *Parker* was ſhooting *London-Bridge*, with his aforeſaid Neece, whom he was conveying beyond Sea, they were both caſt away and drowned in the *Thames*. *Judge by this* (O Parents!) *whether God is well pleaſed with diſpoſing your Children to Popiſh Education.*

Others there were that were pulled out alive, but ſo bruiſed, or ſo ſpent for want of breath, that ſome lived not many hours, others dyed not many days after.

The floor of the Chamber immediately over this where the Corps lay, being fallen, there was no entrance into it but through the Ambaſſadours Bed-chamber, the door whereof was cloſed up with the Timber of the floors that fell down, and the walls

of this room were of ſtone, only there was one window in it with extraordinary ſtrong croſs barrs of iron, ſo that though Smiths, and other workmen were immediately ſent for, yet it was more than an hour before ſuccour could be afforded to them that were faln down.

Paſſage at length being made, I had acceſs into the room (ſaith Doctor *Gouge* the relater of this ſtory) and viewing the Bodies, obſerved ſome (yet but few) to be mortally wounded, or cruſhed by the timber: Others to be apparently ſtifled, partly with their thick lying one upon another, and partly with the duſt that came from the cieling which fell down.

On the Lords day at night when they fell they were numbered ninety one dead bodies, but many of them were ſecretly conveyed away in the night, there being a pair of water-ſtairs, leading from the garden appertaining to the houſe, into the *Thames*. On the morrow the Coroner and his Inqueſt coming to view the bodies, found remaining but ſixty three.

Of thoſe that were carried away, ſome were buried in a Burying place within the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadours Houſe in *Holborn*, amongſt whom the Lady *Web* was one, the

the Lady *Blackſtones* daughter another, and one Miſtreſs *Udal* a third: Maſter *Stoker*, and Maſter *Bartholomew Bavin* were buried in St. *Brides* Pariſh. *Robert Sutton*, *John Loccham*, and *Abigail Holford* in St. *Andrews Holborn*. Captain *Summers* wife in the Vault under *Black-Friers* Church, and her woman in the Church-yard. For the Corps remaining, two great pits were digged, one in the fore Court of the ſaid *French* Ambaſſadors houſe, eighteen foot long, and twelve foot broad; the other in the garden behind his houſe, twelve foot long, and eight foot broad. In the former pit were laid forty four Corps, whereof the bodies of the aforeſaid *Drury* and *Redyate* were two: Theſe two wound up in ſheets, were firſt laid into the pit, with a partition of looſe earth to ſever them from the reſt. Then were others brought, ſome in ſomewhat a decent manner wound up in ſheets, but the moſt in a moſt lamentable plight, the ſhirts onely of the men tyed under the twiſts, and ſome linnen tyed about the middle of the women, the reſt of their bodies naked, and one poor man or woman taking a Corps by the head, another by the feet tumbled them in, and ſo piled them up almoſt to the top of the pit.

The

The reſt were put into the other pit in the garden.

Their manner of burial ſeemed almoſt as diſmal, as the heap of them, when they lay upon the floor where they laſt fell. No obſequies of funeral Rites were uſed at their burial. Only the day after, a black Croſs of wood was ſet upon each grave, but was ſoon by Authority commanded to be taken down.

When they were thus interred, thorough ſearch was made about the cauſe of the falling of the timber: The timber of each floor was laid together, and the meaſure of the Summers that brake was taken. The main Summer which croſſed the Garret was ten inches ſquare: Two girders were by tenents, and mortaiſes let into the middeſt of it, one juſt againſt another: the Summer was knotty where the mortaiſes were made, whereupon being over-burdened, it knapped ſuddenly aſunder in the middeſt.

The main Summer of the other floor that fell was much ſtronger, being thirteen inches ſquare, ſtrong and ſound every where, neither did the girders meet ſo juſt one againſt another; yet that alſo failed, not in the middeſt as the uppermoſt

moſt, but within five foot of one end, and that more ſhiveringly, and with a longer rent in the timber then the other. For this Chamber was almoſt full with ſuch perſons as coming too late, went into *Redyates* Chamber: Beſides, it did not only bear the weight which lay on the upper floor, but received it with a ſudden knock, and ſo the maſſie timber ſhivered in two, and the people were irrecoverably before they could fear any ſuch thing, beaten down into the third floor which was above twenty foot from the firſt.

It's true, we muſt not be raſh in cenſuring, yet when we ſee judgements executed on ſinners in the act of their ſin, when they are impudent, and preſumptuous therein, not to acknowledge ſuch to be judged by the Lord, is to wink againſt clear light, *Pſal.* 9. 16. *God is known by the judgments which he executeth.* Shall *Nebuchadnezzar*, while he is vaunting of his great *Babylon*, be bereft of his wits?

Shall *Herod*, whileſt he is priding himſelf in the flattering applauſe of the people, be eaten of worms? Shall *Haman*, whileſt he practiſing to deſtroy all the people of God, be hanged on a Gallows fifty foot high, which he had prepared for *Mordecai*?

Shall

Shall the House where the *Philistins* met together to sport with *Sampson*, fall upon their heads? Shall these and such like judgments overtake men in the very act of their sin, and yet be accounted no judgements, no evidences of Gods revenging Justice, or signes of his indignation? Truly then we may deny all Providence, and attribute all to chance: But add hereto, that this fell out upon their fifth of *November*, and it will be as clear as if written with a Sun-beam, that the pit which they digged for others, they themselves fell into it.

Doctor *Gouge*, who relates this Story in his *Extent of Gods Providence*, thus writeth.

I do the more confidently publish this History, because I was an eye-witness of many of the things therein related, and heard from the mouths of such as were present at the Sermon, the rest. For upon the first hearing of the destruction of so many persons as by that Dowfal lost their lives, our Constables presently caused the Gates of our precinct (it being surrounded with walls and Gates) to be shut, and raised a strong Guard from amongst the inhabitants to keep the house where this accident fell out, and to prevent tumult about it. Thus through the favour of the Constables, and

Watch,

Watch, who were all my neighbours, I had the more free and quiet acceſs to view the dead bodies, and to inform my ſelf of all the material circumſtances about that accident: which I did the rather, becauſe the Biſhop of *London* that then was, ſent to me to inform my ſelf throughly of all the buſineſs, and to ſend him a narration thereof under my hand; whereupon I did not only view matters my ſelf, but cauſed Carpenters to ſearch the timber, to take the meaſures both of the timber and the rooms. I was alſo preſent with the Coroner and his Inqueſt at their examining of all circumſtances about the buſineſs. And the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* ſending to me to come to him, and to bring with me the beſt evidence I could, I got the foreman and others of the Jury, and four perſons that were preſent at the Sermon, and fell down with the reſt, but by Gods providence eſcaped death, and one that ſtood without the door, within hearing, but fell not, all theſe I got to go along with me to *Lambeth*, where I heard the witneſs which they gave to the Arch-Biſhop about this matter. One that fell with the reſt, and eſcaped death, was Maſter *Gee* a Preacher in *Lancaſhire*: two others were a ſon and ſervant to a Citizen

in

in *Pater noſter* Row: The reſt were men of good underſtanding, able to apprehend what they ſaw and heard, and to relate what they conceived.

FINIS.